JIM CROW'S LEGACY:

SEGREGATION STRESS SYNDROME

A Dissertation

by

RUTH K. THOMPSON-MILLER

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

May 2011

Major Subject: Sociology

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Approved by:

Chair of Committee,	Joe R. Feagin
Committee Members,	Jane Sell
	William Alex McIntosh
	Rogelio Saenz
Head of Department,	Mark Fossett

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ABSTRACT

Jim Crow's Legacy:

Segregation Stress Syndrome.

(May 2011)

Ruth K. Thompson-Miller, B.A., University of Florida;

M.S., Texas A&M University

Chair of Advisory Committee: Dr. Joe R. Feagin

This dissertation is based on a qualitative research project that documents the experiences of nearly 100 elderly African Americans who lived in the total institution of Jim Crow. The collective long lasting psychological effects connected with the racial violence that occurred in the total institution are a critical aspect. In the interviews African Americans shared how on a daily basis they found themselves dealing with anxiety, fear, humiliation, shame, and stress. The narratives were analyzed utilizing the extended case method. The dissertation documents and explores symptoms of a "segregation stress syndrome" for the chronic, enduring, extremely painful experiences and responses to the total institution of Jim Crow that are indicated by numerous respondents in this research project. Preliminary findings indicate that the symptoms of "segregation stress syndrome" are similar to PTSD symptoms documented in psychiatric literature. However, "segregation stress syndrome" differs from PTSD because the traumatic experience was not a one-time occurrence; it was sustained, over time, in

African American communities. In addition, the racial violence that occurred was a form of systematic chronic stress, the type that has been shown to have a detrimental impact on a person's psychological well-being. Lastly, the historical and collective trauma that ensued has contributed to an intergenerational aspect of "segregation stress syndrome." The intergenerational aspect predisposes some younger African Americans to psychological damage, stress, and trauma even though contemporary forms of racial violence are seemingly less damaging.

DEDICATION

To my mother, Carolyn Thompson, and my beloved deceased father, Millard Thompson, and Nefertiti, Myia, and Yasmeen for all their continued love and support.

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Finally, I want to give a heartfelt thanks to my daughter Nefertiti for all her encouragement, patience, and love throughout this process.

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INTRODUCTION

> ***. . .*** *The Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world,—a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder* –W.E.B. DuBois

No event in the collective memory of African Americans is more profound than the capture, enslavement, and kidnapping of millions of Africans from the continent of Africa, their homeland (Elkins 1959; Blassingame 1979; Litwack 1980; Franklin 2000). With the "total institution" of slavery came the simultaneous formation of Africans as a collective group in America (Elkins 1959; Goffman 1961; Knottnerus et al, 1999; Wacquant 2001). In a total institution, groups of individuals are cut off from the "wider society, for an appreciable period of time" and every aspect of their lives is controlled, and monitored; from their language to their ability to protect loved ones (Goffman 1961: 12). Although, slavery was declared abolished in 1865, after 250 years of existence, it was not completely or instantaneously dismantled. Soon after abolishing slavery, Whites implemented a system with laws and practices that virtually mirrored those of slavery—the institution was Jim Crow.

On October 1, 2009, the *New York Times* shocked the country by revealing First Lady Michelle Obama's ancestral history, even as it asserted that "no one should be surprised

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This dissertation follows the style of the *American Sociological Review*.

anymore to hear about the number of rapes and the amount of sexual exploitation that took place under slavery; it was an everyday experience [for enslaved African Americans]" (Swarns and Kantor, 2009:20). What remains unacknowledged is the systematic rapes, lynchings, torture, and beatings of African Americans during Jim Crow. How did the survivors of the total institution of Jim Crow cope? What coping strategies, if any, did they pass on to the next generation? Were there long-term psychological consequences for survivors of Jim Crow? If so, what were the symptoms and how did the symptoms manifest? In this dissertation, I examine the consequences of the total institution of Jim Crow highlighting the narratives of African Americans who lived through this period.

The African Americans that endured slavery in this country are deceased. Their voices silenced. However, I have access to the survivors of the total institution of Jim Crow, which replaced slavery. In my dissertation, I conducted interviews with nearly 100 survivors, fifty-two respondents in the Southeast and 40 respondents in the Southwest who were willing to share their experiences of growing up in the total institution of Jim Crow. My dissertation focuses on how the elderly African Americans survived and the coping strategies that they utilized, as well as the long-term economic and psychological consequences— often unacknowledged by the larger U.S. society.

The dissertation demonstrates how Jim Crow's total institution manifested in their lives. Specifically, the dissertation reveals that individuals used diverse measures to cope with and survive Jim Crow. The dissertation demonstrates that African Americans dealt with an element of forced deference and coercion, economic constraints, sexual assault,

and often their inability to protect loved ones. African Americans were under constant surveillance and were forced to suppress their feelings of rage, shame, and anger.

The Significance of the Project

It was not until June 18, 2009 that the U. S. Senate apologized for the total institution of slavery and Jim Crow in this country. The narratives of survivors of Jim Crow have been collected by McGovern (1982), Smead (1986), Wexler (2003), and Tyson (2004) who focused on documenting historical events and narratives connected to publicized lynchings. Some detailed the experiences of particular individuals, associated with the lynching, who suffered there from. A few other scholars (Faulkner, Helser, Holbrook, and Geismar 1982; Gwaltney 1993; Litwack 1998; Chafe 2001) have documented aspects of everyday life for African Americans in Jim Crow. My research builds on this previous work by bringing new insights to the study of Jim Crow survivors: the collective psychological consequences for the survivors of Jim Crow.

I fulfill this critical need by investigating the historical, social, and psychological tolls of Jim Crow's total institution on its victims. In investigations of individual reactions to traumatic events, psychologist have examined posttraumatic stress syndrome. Specifically, in 1980, the DSM-III established that posttraumatic stress syndrome which in the field of psychology is diagnosed as an individual phenomenon. In my research, I use the research on posttraumatic stress syndrome to help understand some of the narratives of my elderly respondents. However, I additionally look at the phenomena of posttraumatic stress syndrome in terms of the collective experience of African Americans. I utilize the concept, segregation stress syndrome for the chronic, enduring,

extremely painful traumatic experiences and responses to Jim Crow that are indicated by the survivors. I take an interdisciplinary approach in my examination of Jim Crow, merging concepts and theoretical frameworks from two disciplines—sociology and psychology—to analyze the experiences of the survivors of Jim Crow.

I systematically examine the long lasting psychological effects of racism, discrimination, stress, trauma through the narratives of those who experienced racial violence. I conceptualize racial violence broadly as collective and/or institutional actions; which are physical, written, or spoken; and which inflict or threaten to inflict physical, psychological, or material injury on victims who often resist (Jackman 2002; Blee 2005; Feagin 2006).

This project challenges the notion that when slavery ended in the southeast and southwest African Americans enjoyed a free and open democracy, able to live as equal citizens in the U.S. south. The project addresses the long held ideas that Blacks and Whites marched, fought—and in some instances—lost their lives to fight during the Civil Rights Movement because Blacks wanted to assimilate to the White "mainstream." This included sitting at White lunch counters, going to White schools, and riding in the front of the bus with Rosa Parks. This project reveals, through the survivors' narratives, why everyday Blacks—young and old—wanted their freedom from the institution of Jim Crow, so much so that they were willing to die for it. Lastly, this project reveals that struggling and fighting. The project illuminates that fighting against Jim Crow's total institution, profoundly impacted the psychological well-being and lives of its survivors, African Americans and their descendants.

In 2007, the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), reported that African Americans are less depressed than Whites, on average, however among those African Americans that are depressed, it is more chronic and severe (NIMH 2007). Yet, depressed African Americans are often reluctant to seek mental health treatment. The history of racism, discrimination, and cultural mistrust are some of the keys to explaining why African Americans don't seek help. The respondents reveal some of their recent experiences with extreme racism and discrimination in Jim Crow. The narratives offer insight and shed light on why African Americans' depression is more chronic and severe.

The research project reveals to society the long-term impact of racist total institutions on the mental health outcomes of African Americans—through the narratives of the survivors. The project reveals the intergenerational transmission of trauma connected to the survivors' experiences, similar to the intergenerational transmission of trauma by survivors of the Holocaust (LaCapra 2000; Bass 2002a). Moreover, the project calls into question the U.S. institutions that created and reproduced racial inequality even after slavery. As a country, we must be vigilant that these types of policies should not occur again and should be investigated vigorously to understand the psychological and economical costs, to African Americans and the society as a whole.

Historical Background

In 1619, the first enslaved Africans arrived in the U.S. These Africans were separated from their families, their culture, and their heritage. The voyage through the middle passage was brutal and traumatic for Africans; thousands of Africans leaped to their certain death in the waters of the Atlantic (Elkins 1959; Blassingame 1979; Litwack 1980; Franklin 2000). Once they arrived in America, they were sold like cattle on an auction block—often being separated from their families. They endured beatings, rape, lynchings, and the decimation of their families. The people, places, and things that Africans revered and feared in Africa were replaced with an overwhelming fear at what they surely didn't understand initially. They fought to gain their freedom and without the enslaved African American soldiers, America would be a different country for all Americans, especially Blacks and Whites.

During slavery there were Whites', of various social, political, and economic backgrounds who owned, created goods for slaves and slavery, or performed some function connected with the institution of slavery who gained an enormous amount of wealth. The descendants of those ordinary Whites are still reaping the benefits of the wealth that was created as a direct result of the U.S. system of slavery (Feagin 2006; Oliver and Shapiro 2001). After the end of slavery, there was a brief time when freed African Americans gained some economic, social, and political footing. During the era of Reconstruction, the U.S. elected its first African American members to seats in the Senate, Congress, and other legislative positions. However, the elected officials, in most

instances, never took their political posts. After the Civil War laws were set in place that was in many ways similar to slavery.

Indeed, after nearly 240 years of the total institution of slavery, it ended in 1865. Thus far, the trauma that Africans suffered can't be underestimated. In 1865, after abolishing slavery, Whites developed a comprehensive social system with laws that soon became known simply as the Black Codes" (Packard 2002: 42).

The Era of Quasi Slavery: Black Codes

The Black Codes banned African Americans from voting, attending public schools, and being admitted into public hospitals, as well as prohibiting African Americans from utilizing public facilities such as hotels, parks, and public transportation. All aspects of public life were segregated. The Black Codes encouraged Whites to take the law into their own hands and physically attack nonconforming "free" Blacks and to pressure them to work in arrangements that provided little or no payments, this was the precursor to Jim Crow laws. The ending of the Black codes in 1866 did not end the oppression, the everyday social control dating back to slavery continued in the form of an extensive racial etiquette, which was in many ways as coercive as the previous racist policies. The Black Codes ended and Jim Crow began shortly thereafter. The Jim Crow laws would last for decades, until the late 1960s.

The Era of Neo-Slavery: Jim Crow

In 1896 the Supreme Court case of Homer Plessy, an African American man, who refused to sit in the "colored" section on a train, was the landmark case that reinforced the local laws of Jim Crow in the U.S. The laws of Jim Crow (legal segregation) stated

that sections for Black and White could be separate but equal. African Americans could not vote, testify against Whites, or serve on juries, and could only attend segregated schools, orphanages, and hospitals. All aspects of public life such as transportation, hotels, and parks were *legally* segregated. The total institution of Jim Crow laws included provisions for beating African Americans whom Whites thought were vagrants. The laws also gave these same ordinary Whites permission to force African Americans to work in their fields or go to jail (Litwack 1998). The social system of Jim Crow began in the 1880's and ended in the 1960's. The legal and informal Jim Crow practices meant racial subordination and an imposed badge of degradation on all African Americans in many areas of the United States (Smythe 1948; Feagin 2006).

In southern states and some northern states the total institution of Jim Crow operated like the system of slavery that it replaced. The segregated agencies of the government exercised extreme control over every aspect of the lives of African Americans. Pressures from leaders and protestors in the Black civil rights movement resulted in the ending of official segregation. However, the seeds of slavery and Jim Crow implanted roots in fertile soil and those trees continue to flourish today.

This exploitation and oppression of African Americans were enshrined by means of racial violence and discrimination in foundational legal, economic, and social institutions. The U.S. Constitution and federal court decisions created contemporary forms of the racist institutions we have functioning today.

Initially, the purpose of my research project was to explore how African Americans coped with the Jim Crow system that replaced slavery; what were the coping

mechanisms, how did they survive, and did they pass those coping skills on to the next generation. However, as the project unfolded the data reveals that the African American survivors of Jim Crow, too, were living in a total institution; Jim Crow's total institution. In order to understand the frameworks of the individual and the larger collective, I begin with a discussion of the microsociological and the macrosociological interactions.

The Macro vs. Micro Perspective

Analysis of both macrosociological and microsociological processes are important because they offer insight into how social interactions that occur in relatively small settings result from and contribute to the larger macro social structure. The macrosociological interactions are those involving large societal structures such as economic institutions, the demographics characteristics of population, the political workings of a society, and the elements contribute to oppression and inequality. The macro level principles refer to the collective phenomena (Wippler and Lindenberg 1987:136).

Early in the history of sociology Max Weber, "demonstrated how collective structures—from religion to law to family—affect the individual actor's capacities for individuality (Alexander et al. 1987:17). In the late 1960's Blumer insisted that, "meaning must be seen to be simply the result of individual negotiation . . . self-indication is a how Blumer described actors (Alexander et al. 1987:27). Blumer thought that it was more important that sociologist focused on the micro mode and not the macro (Alexander et al. 1987:27). However, the work of Erving Goffman emphasized the importance of how an individual presented self (micro) to the larger society (macro).

Blau (1987) states, “microsociology analyzes the underlying social processes that engender relationships between persons. The focus in on social interaction and communication, and important concepts are reciprocity, significant symbols, obligations, exchange, and dependence. Macrosociology analyzes the structure of different positions in a population and their constraints on social relations. The focus is on the external limitations of the social environment on people’s relations, and important concepts are differentiation, institutions, inequality, heterogeneity, and crosscutting circles. In short, microsociology dissects the internal dynamics of social relations, whereas, macrosociology analyses the influences on social relations exerted by external social constraints and opportunity—Durkheim’s social facts” (Blau 1987:71-72).

In the field of social psychology, structural social psychologist make the connections between the micro and the macro—in essence bridging the two (Lawler et al. 1993: 268). According to Lawler et al., “social structures emerge from the joint actions (or interaction) of actors (individual or corporate); structures control and constrain actors but also create new opportunities for action and choice; and structures are perpetuated insofar as they are reproduced by actors” (Lawler et al. 1993:270). Structural social psychologist Lawler et al., offered a new way to approach the micro-macro problem. They argue, for focus on the individual and their multiple encounters. They acknowledge the importance of macro structures within those interactions.

The Importance of Macro and Micro

The importance of the micro and macro in symbolic interaction can not be underestimated. The micro involves interactions that occur in relatively small settings; dyads, small groups and organization, intimate family settings. However, the macro involves larger societal structures such as economic, political, and religious institutions. Some examples of larger, macro, institutions would be churches, banks, political party affiliations, and state and local law enforcement agencies. Lawler et al., argue, "Macrostructure is a network consisting of a set of positions with; a set of relations among the positions; and a set of activities attached to the positions. The positions may be occupied by individual or corporate actors, and they endure beyond their occupants' tenures" (1993:273).

The relationship between micro and macro on another level involves the aspect of structural social psychology that maintains that the micro and the macro feed into each other—neither one causes the other—both affect each other and control the workings of the individuals who are in any given society. For example, stereotyping is reproduced by everyday interactions (micro) and by the larger social institutions surrounding us (macro). Another example, racial oppression and discrimination are reproduced by everyday interactions that occur with social actors (micro) in the larger framework of the institutions (macro).

How the Macro Interacts with Micro

Things are intimately intertwined at the micro and macro level. The reproduction of racism, inequality, and health disparities is recreated in families, society, and larger

institutions. Therefore challenges can occur either at the micro or macro level and then feed to differing levels. Lawler et al. (1993) emphasis on structural social psychology sets the framework for how all of these micro and macro interactions function. Social psychology scholars emphasize how the macro phenomenon interacts with the micro phenomenon. They are different sequences however, they dictate encounters and interactions. Furthermore, Sampson and Wilson's (1995) suggest that "macro-level forces (such as segregation, migration, housing discrimination, structural formation of the economy) interacts with local community-level factors (residential turnover, concentrated poverty, family disruption) hinder social organization. The macrostructures of concern are positions of power, the dimensions of status, and the distribution of material resources. The microstructures are encounter-based structures" (1995: 72).

The legitimacy of the macro level impacts how people perceive each other and what the consequences are in their exchange. Large institutions that create constraints affect the exchange and the reproduction changes that occur at different levels. The reproduction of gender and inequality occurs in such a fashion: structural inequalities are shaped in large forces, such as labor markets, and these forces then help shape families and their dynamics in such a way that gender and racial differences are reproduced. The levels of the reproduction are at both the micro and macro levels.

The Macro Collective Experience

A Total Institution

The concept of a total institution is widely known in the field of sociology and is defined by Erving Goffman as, "a place of residence and work where a large number of

like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administrated round of life" (1961: xiii). Goffman's total institution is of special interest to sociologist because it is a, "social hybrid, part residential community, part formal organization" (1961:12). Some of the characteristics of a total institution included controlling a person's language, humiliation, and punishment, denying acknowledgment of a person's name and creating nicknames, a hierarchy, economic control, a loss of personal safety, forced deference and coercion, sexual assault, an inability to protect loved ones, constant surveillance, and suppression of feelings (Goffman 1961).

One tenet of the total institution of slavery that continued during the era of Jim Crow—to make up for the lack of physical barriers between Whites and Blacks—were the unwritten rules of racial etiquette. Symbolic interactionist scholars coined the concept of racial etiquette and used it to analyze everyday social interactions between Whites and Blacks, in the south, during slavery (Spencer 1969; Doyle 1937; Park 1950; Goffman 1959). Individuals—White and Black—were in constant physical contact with each other during Jim Crow, similar to slavery. Doyle (1937) states, "the persistence of racial etiquette had preserved peaceful relations between the races and also preserved racial status" (1937:151). The continuation of racial etiquette from slavery was instrumental in maintaining and creating a 'harmonious' total institution that included a frontstage and a backstage.

Jim Crow's Total Institution

Goffman acknowledged that the definitions [and lists] of a total institution, "is not neat, exhaustive" (1961:5). He included prisons, mental hospitals, boarding schools, army barracks, concentration and work camps. Elkins (1959) inspired by Bruno Bettelheim's (1960) work on German concentration camps, described slavery as a total institution. According to Elkins, "Slavery was a total institution, similar to concentration camp. As a total institution, slaves lacked social and psychic freedom, masters had control, and under this system slaves came to internalize their inferiority" (1959: 31). Anthony Walsh states, "Slavery and the circumstances created by the Black Codes constituted for Blacks what penologists have called a total institution (Goffman 1961) to describe prisons" (2004: 66).

There are Goffman scholars who would require that all aspects of a total institution be present when the concept is being applied. For the purpose of this dissertation, I will apply Goffman's total institution to Jim Crow. The metaphor of a prison is representative of the relationship between individuals with power and those without power. For this dissertation, I draw on the work of Zimbardo who argues from his prison study that showed, "human behavior is much more under the control of subtle situational forces in some cases very trivial ones like rules and roles and symbols and uniforms and much less under the control of things like character and personality traits that we ordinarily think as determining behavior" (1999:10).

The metaphor of guard and prisoner assists in understanding the relationship between the individual and the institution. In a total institution the issue is what does it mean to

be a prisoner and a guard. The guard limits the freedom of another. The guard represents the larger institution and authority. The role of the guard is to exert the power of the institution by controlling and dominating someone else. What situation would warrant a collective group to give up their freedom? In the total institution of Jim Crow African Americans as a collective negotiated their freedoms on a daily basis. One aspect of a total institution that some would argue is not present for Jim Crow is the notion of *freedom of movement*. However, the internalization of notions of inferiority is a powerful tool to keep individuals in oppressive situations.

Confinement: A State of Mind

In 1933, Carter G. Woodson stated in his book, *The Mis-Education of the Negro*

> If you can control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his actions. When you determine what a man shall think you do not have to concern yourself about what he will do. If you make a person feel that he/she is inferior, you do not have to compel him/her to accept an inferior status; he/she will seek for it. If you make a person think that he/she is a justly outcast, you do not have to order that person to the back door, that person will go without being told, and if there is no back door, the very nature of that person will demand one (1933: vii).

After 250 years of enslavement, this includes the socialization of the enslaved and their children. I argue that most African Americans that lived in Jim Crow's total institution were the descendants of former enslaved African Americans. The majority of individuals didn't need complete physical confinement; by virtue of their experiences in the U.S. the confinement was embedded in them long before Goffman defined the concept 'total institution.' These African Americans were already living in it; Jim Crow's total institution.

The total institution of Jim Crow encompassed every aspect of African Americans' communities, language, work environment, their movements, and social lives. In Jim Crow's total institution, there were certain places that were restricted. Race replaced the confinement of prison bars, locked doors, and barbed wires. "In total institutions there is a basic split between a large managed group, conveniently called 'inmates', and a small supervisory staff. . . .The 'inmates' [the restricted] are seen as secretive, weak, inferior, untrustworthy, and guilty [thus in need of constant surveillance]; the staff [those who restrict and police] is seen as superior and righteous . . . the inmates typically live in the institution and have restricted contact" (Goffman 1961: 7). The actors, in the total institution of Jim Crow, included African Americans the "oppressed" [restricted]" and Whites—ordinary Whites and those in power—the "oppressor" [restrictors]. In the total institution of Jim Crow, Blacks [the restricted] were confined by the rules of racial etiquette that controlled everything, where you walked [restricted areas], your language and tone, how Blacks [the restricted] interacted with Whites [staff], and how Blacks interacted with each other in the frontstage and in the backstage. In the total institution of Jim Crow, a person's roles change when they are in the frontstage interacting with Whites versus in the backstage interacting with family, friends, and community. Bound by racial etiquette in the frontstage; African American men avoided the gaze of Whites by constantly looking down, not raising their voices, and acting less masculine, especially in the company of White women. In the backstage, they are fathers, husbands, and the man of the house.

Navigating the Frontstage and Backstage

Goffman's (1959) backstage and frontstage, an aspect of the total institution of Jim Crow, is helpful in illustrating the shifting performances and social interactions of African Americans. During their everyday interaction with Whites in Jim Crow's total institution, in the public sphere of the frontstage, African Americans had to present themselves in a particular manner to survive the social interaction. Utilizing Erving Goffman's dramaturgy, which is a presentation of ourselves in everyday life, is a useful way to being analyzing and describing the interaction with Whites. African American parents began the process of socializing their children early to prepare them for their ultimate frontstage interactions with Whites. Goffman (1959) described social interactions and the ways, in which, social actors engage in interactions in the backstage and the frontstage.

In a total institution, Goffman states, "the frontstage is where performances are given (where lines are delivered). The backstage is where people rest from their frontstage performances, discuss their presentations, and plan future their performances" (Goffman 1959:112). In the backstage, White and Black children were socialized about their frontstage performance, the rules of etiquette, and the boundaries of their social interactions with each other. Goffman notes, "the backstage is where the suppressed feelings and facts [of the frontstage interactions] make there appearance" (1959: 112). In the total institution of Jim Crow, the backstage and frontstage spaces were not always clear and distinct. However, there was no ambiguity about the rules of racial etiquette. .

In examining the total institution of Jim Crow, the rules of racial etiquette were fundamental to social control.

Racial Etiquette: In the Total Institution

The term etiquette has a long history in symbolic interaction. In 1928, Robert Park's used the term etiquette to describe the social interactions of social actors who are strangers and racially different, "While etiquette and ceremonial are at once a convenience and a necessity in facilitating human intercourse, they serve even more effectively to maintain social distances and to preserve the rank and order of individuals and classes. . . .This is the significance of the ceremonial and social ritual so rigidly enforced in the South, by which racial distinctions are preserved" (Park 1928:18-19). Bertram Doyle (1937) used the term, racial etiquette, to describe the social rituals of greetings, conversations, and public relations in his book, "The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South." Doyle does an exhaustive analysis of the social interaction customs of slavery and its predecessor, Jim Crow.

According to Doyle, "Etiquette enables persons to act freely within the limits which the formal rules of personal relations impose and has, perhaps, no higher sanction than the feeling of superiority one feels when one succeeds, or than the sense of inferiority [and punishment] when one fails" (1937:5). Park (1937) credits Herbert Spencer, "for directing attention to the importance of etiquette and social ritual as a form of government or social control, and, indeed, as a subject for sociological investigation" (cited in Doyle: xvii).

However, Doyle argues that Spencer "has discussed etiquette under government. The government of which he speaks is ceremonial, but he describes it in such a fashion that it coincides with our notions of etiquette" (Doyle 1937:5). Gary Jaworski (1996) argues, "Park and Doyle misinterpreted the thoughts of Herbert Spencer, whom they regularly cited to sanction their belief" (1996: 165). Since Doyle used the term in 1937, scholars, have continued to expand on the term racial etiquette. Doyle (1937) argued that African Americans during the era of slavery learned how to interact with Whites and this practice has been a fundamental part of their socialization process for hundreds of years. African Americans frontstage performance with Whites required extensive hours of backstage preparation. The preparation and socialization began, in some instances, as early as infancy. In the backstage African Americans learned racial etiquette and utilized it in the frontstage to survive their unpredictable social interactions with Whites. According to Lal (1986), "socialization consists of the transmission of a relevant world of 'objects' and their meanings and is an ongoing process in the life of the individual who required to fit into new groups and learn the meanings appropriate to each of these (1986: 283). In 1995, Lal describes that social objects, "can be a physical thing . . . .a concept such as justice or equality, or it can be an emotion such as love or fear (1995: 423). "Language is central to ongoing group life because it enables shared understandings to exist between members of a group as well as transmitting these intergenerationally, which in turns makes possible collective action—that is, socially controlled action (Lal 1995:423).

Racial Violence: In the Total Institution

Racial violence and the threat of racial violence were fundamental to the total institution of Jim Crow. Therefore, I examined the everyday ways in which Whites used racial violence as a form of social control to implement and enforce the written laws and customs of Jim Crow's total institution. According to the narratives, Whites utilized racial violence and other aggressive discrimination tactics to subordinate African American men, women, and children in most southern states. Racial terrorism, both by White individuals and organized Klu Klux Klan-type groups (which in most instances included the police and high government officials) induced a recurring state of fear in African American individuals and their communities.

The acts of racial violence against African Americans are directly connected with the exodus of African Americans out of the South. Tolnay and Beck (1992:103-106) dispel the notion that economics was the key motivator that led African Americans to flee their homes, families, and property during the era of Jim Crow. Racial violence played a key role in establishing and maintaining a racial hierarchy in society.

Fundamentally, we need to ask, "What can sociologists do to develop a better theory of racial violence in terms of the people who suffer, i.e., the victims of the racial violence?" Racial violence impacts, changes, and can stifle the lives and identity of its victims. Most racial violence literature focuses on the intentions of the perpetuator, while Blee (2005:600) proposes a framework that considers the victims and audiences as well as the perpetuators. Who gets to decide whether an act is a harmful act of racial violence? Should the intent of the perpetuator outweigh and get more consideration than

the psychological, physical, and long-term harm to the victim? Does racial hostility need to be the motivation behind an act of racial violence?

Recent research on the subject of hate crimes, showed that an overwhelming number of perpetrators often lack racial animus. Historically and in contemporary times, the purpose of the hate crime was a mere desire to seek thrills from the act of racial violence (Blee 2005:603). Some social scientists have noted pressure from peers rather than racial hostility as the motivation for racial violence (Blee 2005:604).

What circumstances define racial violence? Blee defines, "acts of violence with violent consequences in which victims are racially fungible (2005:606)." Jackman (2002:405) defines "violence as actions that inflict, threaten, or cause injury. Actions may be corporal, written, or verbal. Injuries may be corporal, psychological, material, or social." If the (White) perpetrators who committed the acts did not have negative intentions or if the violence is just a result of some other act, observers may tend to view it as racial violence. Often this type of violence escapes the attention of most individuals (Jackman 2002:388). During Jim Crow, African Americans anticipated racial violence and Whites socially accepted it. The use of racial violence in Jim Crow's total institution led to an overwhelming sense of fear that ultimately controlled every aspect of African American's lives.

Fear as a Form of Social Control in Jim Crow's Total Institution

According to the *American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Health Disorder's 4th edition (DSM-IV)*, there is a particular type of fear that associated with the development of PTSD. The PTSD develops through

socialization and conditioning that is in response to two events that produce the same response. For example, African Americans are fearful of Whites, who they encounter in their everyday experiences, based on the historical, personal, and collective experiences of racial violence with Whites in this country produces fear and from that, point on the sight of Whites becomes associated with the same fear. According to the DSM-IV (1994), agrees that there are fears that are maintained through social conditioning. This means that the initial association is maintained through constant reinforcement and punishment, or consequences that follow.

According to Scruton, psychologist Colby R. Hatfield who explored fear in two East African societies in 1979 argues, "…If a culture can structure emotions and institutions in such ways that in certain contexts individuals are conditioned to act as if fear did not exist, then it would also seem that cultures can create institutions supported by fear and situations defined by fear, actions to be feared, persons to be feared, and events to be feared (Scruton 1986:126). In this dissertation, I will explore this theme.

Most Whites who were and are functioning from the White racial frame fear Blacks, not through their own experiences, but by what they are told by their families, the media, social networks, and other agents of the dominant society. Fear is used as a mechanism to keep the majority of people situated the way they have been situated for centuries. The folks in power are using the social construct of "fear" as a means to control the minds, discourse, and perceptions of the people in this country. Fear is a learned behavior and instilling fears keeps most African Americans attuned to society's expectations. The consequences of not fulfilling those expectations are painfully evident

in the historical data from Jim Crow and de facto segregation. The violence that was/is still afflicted upon African Americans in this country in the form of lynching, verbal abuse, police brutality, house burnings, and rape if "racial etiquette" is not followed is evident from the narratives.

The cultural collective practice of *submission,* cloaking the true feelings of African Americans during segregation, is one of the "racial etiquettes" that was required of Blacks during the time of the total institution of Jim Crow. African Americans were hiding their true feelings of anger behind a veil. It is likely that the racialized fear occurred collectively for Africans at the point of their enslavement by Whites. The things, persons, events, and situations that Africans feared as a "collective group" on the continent were replaced by the fears that were instilled in them by Whites as a means of social control. We all have individual fears that we deal with personally however, as a "collective," dominant society manipulates fear to get the majority of the population to do what they want them to do. The symbols that incite fear in African Americans are often simple interactions with White person in the street.

Psychological & Economic Consequences

In this dissertation project, I will examine the long-lasting psychological effects and consequences of living in the total institution of Jim Crow. In the total institution of Jim Crow African Americans dealt daily with racial violence, stress, trauma, and historical treatment. I will give a historical and sociological context overview of the era of Jim Crow to establish the period in which my respondents lived. I will utilize the social science life course literature to focus on the context surrounding the individual, the

events that occur in a person's life—referred to in some instances as turning points, and connecting roles (Giele and Elder 1998: 12).

Research has shown that African Americans suffer everyday with racism and stress (Pearlin 1999; Carter 2007; Williams & Williams-Morris 2000; Clark et al. 1999). Studies show that the stress associated with racism negatively affects the mental health of African Americans (Williams and Williams-Morris 2000; Carter 2007). According to Carter, (2007), "racial stressors have been found, in a variety of studies to produce physical outcomes such as high blood pressure, risk for heart disease, and increased vulnerability to a variety of negative health outcomes" (2007:58).

According to Pearlin (1999), stress and the accumulation of stress can be a long ongoing process. This accumulation of stress on African Americans coupled with the stress of racism and perceived racism continues to have a negative affect on their mental psychological well-being (Williams et al. 1997; Clark et al. 1999; Carter 2007). African Americans suffered with diminished psychological well-being from the ongoing battles with racism and discrimination.

African Americans deal with the daily stress that is associated with living their lives, in an oppressive environment; however, the racism they experienced is in many instances "unscheduled." Pearlin (1999) has found that such frequent "unscheduled" daily events of "serious stressors usually generate additional stressors, a phenomenon referred to as "stress proliferation" (1999:166). Understanding the long-lasting effects of racism and stress can give society an idea of how to treat African Americans who are suffering with the consequences associated with racism.

The research and literature on the issue of how racism, discrimination, and racial violence negatively influence the physical and mental well-being of African Americans and other diverse populations is compelling. However, much of the literature, in this area, is dominated by the field of psychology and as such emphasizes the individual experience. Some sociology scholars have addressed the issue of the psychological cost of racism on people of color (Mills and Edwards 2002; Feagin and McKinney 2003; Feagin 2006). Sociologist can further contribute by focusing upon the impact over the life course. Toward this end, I seek to investigate the cumulative and long-term psychological effects of the racial violence, historical trauma, and chronic stress that occurred during Jim Crow on African Americans.

Segregation Stress Syndrome

I will examine and develop the concept of "segregation stress syndrome" as the ultimate long term consequence of Jim Crow's total institution. I suggest that the preliminary findings indicate that the symptoms of "segregation stress syndrome" are similar to PTSD symptoms documented in psychiatric literature. Ronald Kessler and Shanyang Zhao (1999) state that little research has been done on the kinds of trauma that are most likely to lead to symptoms of PTSD. Their preliminary findings indicate that the trauma of rape, sexual molestation, combat exposure and witnessing someone being badly injured or killed as high predictors of PTSD (1999:72). Kessler and Zhao (1999) state, "men are more likely to experience at least one trauma overall, women are more likely to experience trauma associated with high probability of PTSD" (1999:74). I will

theorize that African Americans during the total institution of Jim Crow experienced multiple traumas associated with the development of the symptoms of PTSD.

"Segregation stress syndrome" differs from PTSD in that the traumas [rape, racial violence, lynchings, KKK attacks and killings] occurred in the communities and country in which African Americans live and thus is possibly more detrimental because the traumatic experience was not a one-time occurrence. The sustained trauma experienced by African Americans in Jim Crow's total institution has a communal legacy; it's intergenerational. I will suggest that the resulting "segregation stress syndrome" has a historical trauma aspect to it. The racial violence that occurred during Jim Crow's total institution was a form of systematic chronic stress, the type that has been shown to emerge and be more "insidiously and persistent" (Pearlin 1999:400). The multiple traumatic experiences that these elderly African Americans endured during their childhood have had an effect on their lives. Although several of these respondents were exposed to similar types of stressors they did not all respond in the same manner (Pearlin 1999). Elderly African Americans coped in various ways and differed in their resilience; they learned to cope with the systemic chronic stress and relieve some of their distress.

I will explore the possibility that "segregation stress syndrome" has an intergenerational aspect to it that predisposes some younger African Americans to psychological damage, stress, and trauma even though contemporary forms of racial violence appear to be covert and seemingly less damaging than the violence that occurred during the total institution of Jim Crow is a reality. Research shows that racist incidents (violence) are potentially traumatizing forms of victimization that affect ethnic

minority children and adults (Sanchez-Hucles 1998; Wyatt 1990). The damage done in the total institution of Jim Crow is intergenerational and there is evidence that it continues in its effect. Consequently, racist incidents, which are similar to acknowledged traumatic experiences such as rape, beatings, and other forms of violence, may result in posttraumatic-like symptoms (Bryant-Davis 2007). Woodard (2001) found that experiences of racial trauma were significantly associated with increased psychiatric and physical symptoms in African Americans; I will explore that notion that past racial violence and trauma can possibly be fundamental in explaining the disparity in the physical and mental health outcomes of elderly African Americans. At the same time, thousands of African Americans are still alive, have coped with the past, and continue to cope with the memories. What are some of the strategies for coping with oppression, violence, and overwhelming degrees of daily systemic chronic stress?

Irving Allen (1996) gave an overview of how racism and violence can lead to posttraumatic stress. Allen (1996) defines posttraumatic stress and the consequences it has on the physical and mental well-being of African Americans. He elaborates on the social, racial, and medical problems of African Americans, as well as, the problems with the health care system. Allen (1996) addresses the problems with discrimination in schools, employment, and in everyday life. He elaborates how race should be taken into serious consideration when medial health care practitioners are working with patients of different ethnic groups. He offers different treatments that could be used for dealing with drug and alcohol abuse especially when it is connected with posttraumatic stress disorder.

The Research Questions

The research questions for the project: What were the experiences of African Americans living in Jim Crow's total institution? I examine the characteristics of Jim Crow as a total institution and a system of racial oppression. I examine the characteristics of Jim Crow as a total institution. This includes the navigating of the frontstage and backstage. I use the stories of elderly African Americans to examine their strategies of resistance and coping. I examine the long-term consequences of living in a total institution, which include psychological, economical, and intergenerational consequences.

Further Aims of the Dissertation

In this dissertation, I will utilize Goffman's concept of a total institution to examine the era of Jim Crow that replaced slavery. I will systematically apply the characteristics of a total institution to examine the narratives of African Americans that survived[1] the total institution of Jim Crow. I will use Goffman's (1959) total institution, which include a dramaturgical analysis—the study of social interaction in terms of theatrical performance—specifically, the frontstage and backstage framework to analyze in-depth interviews with older Black women and men. During Jim Crow's total institution, African American actors, in their daily performances, used their dress, mannerism, and tone of voice to maneuver their interactions with Whites, to ensure their safety. I analyze the frontstage and backstage perceptions, interpretations, and coping strategies of those who survived official segregation. According to Goffman (1961), the backstage was free safe space where the actor could learn the performance. I will expand on the work of

symbolic interactionist Doyle (1937) who utilized the narratives of slaves to examine the racial etiquette of the South. According to Lal (1995), "symbolic interaction concerns itself with the actor's point of view as well as the nature of the situation in which collective action is constructed (1995:421). In symbolic interaction, society exists in the face-to-face interactions of individuals.

The overall aims of this research project is to establish that elderly African Americans that survived Jim Crow's total institution are experiencing symptoms similar to post-traumatic stress syndrome. Another aim is to investigate what impact the larger social context contributes to how these survivors deal with stress and mental health issues. An additional aim of the project is to understand how the experience of legal discrimination experienced by those residing in northern states is different from the experiences of those living in the southern states in the total institution of Jim Crow. The goal is to investigate the relationship between living in the total institution of Jim Crow and mental health outcomes, specifically, post-traumatic stress among elderly African Americans survivors of Jim Crow (legal segregation) and their descendents?

Outline of Remaining Chapters

Chapter II of the dissertation is the theoretical-conceptual framework. I divide the theoretical-conceptual portion of the dissertation into two parts. The theoretical-conceptual framework focuses on the race and symbolic interaction literature and the mental health literature. The concepts in the conceptual-theoretical chapter are broad and focus on how the concepts interact and intersect with each other. The chapter includes a discussion on Feagin's White racial framing of racial matters and Goffman's

dramaturgy—frontstage and backstage. I focus on the social psychology literature including social learning and how Whites and Blacks were taught the 'racial etiquette' of interactions. I examine Dubois's double-consciousness in reference to the fear, anger, pain, and rage that the survivors of Jim Crow experienced. I focus on the levels of racism—individual and structural—as well as the consequences of discrimination. Lastly, I explore Zimbardo's Lucifer effect to analyze how individuals who describe themselves as, "good Christians" were involved in various acts of racial violence that included the torturing and murdering of African Americans during Jim Crow. In Chapter III, I focus on the methodology. I describe the interview process and I introduce my respondents and describe the interview process. Chapters IV, V, VI, and VII are the chapters where my respondents' voices come to life through their narratives.

I examine trauma as an individual experience and the consequences, which include posttraumatic stress syndrome. Then I define traumatic racial events and introduce segregation stress syndrome, which I describe as the consequence of racial traumatic events in the everyday lives of African Americans during Jim Crow. The chapter includes the cumulative loss of psychological well-being for African Americans and their mechanisms of coping. I explore the intergenerational transmission of trauma. I examine where African Americans go to seek assistance to deal with the aftermath of racial violence and trauma. I provide the necessary background of racial violence, which includes lynching, rapes, and other collective experiences. I incorporate the literature on stress as a backdrop for understanding the stress process, identity and stress, and social stressors. I include the framework of racism, stress, and mental health. The literature on

stress and racism includes the individual experiences; however, for this dissertation I will focus on the collective experiences of African Americans including collective memory, stress, and collective trauma. I will include some of the literature on Holocaust survivors as a way to set the stage for understanding the experiences of Jim Crow survivors.

In Chapter IV, I focus on trauma, racism, and segregation stress syndrome. In Chapter V, I focus on the frontstage traumatic events that include the work of Goffman, Dubois, Feagin, Zimbaro, and others to analyze the respondents' everyday accounts of traumatic racial events during Jim Crow. I include if they witnessed, experienced, or heard about the racial traumatic event. The racial traumatic events include the recollection of fear for others, rape, lynchings, house burnings, torture, and murder. In this chapter, I begin the process of 'unpacking' how Whites were able to engage in these events using Zimabaro's Lucifer effect. In this chapter, I use Goffman to analyze when the racial traumatic event occurred in the frontstage or the backstage. Lastly, I include highly publicized traumatic racial events that occurred in the frontstage: the murders of Four Little Girls and Emmett Till—which some have argued sparked the Civil Rights Movement.

In Chapter VI, I specially focus on the issue of systematic rape and I provide narratives that show how the traumatic rape of African American women impacted the lives of the African Americans. In Chapter VII, I use Goffman to analyze how African Americans sought protection and guidance in the backstage. I engage the work of Feagin and others to emphasize the importance of resistance and coping. I include the narratives

of respondents' who resisted and taught their children and grandchildren how to resist. I include collective resistance in this chapter. I analyze how African Americans responded when Whites invaded the backstage. I include the racial traumatic events of lynchings, home rapes, and church burnings. The importance of churches in the African American communities during the era of Jim Crow makes the act of White invasion even more insidious.

In the concluding chapter, VIII, I include the collective psychological consequences for African American survivors and their descendents. I include the historical backdrop of mental health care and African Americans. I include the implications for mental health counselors, and the possible physical consequences for African Americans. I make the connections between their mental well-being and the physical consequences. I explore future research and my hope for the future.

CHAPTER II

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Symbolic Interaction

In this chapter, I will focus on the larger issue of trauma as a collective experience for the African American survivors of Jim Crow. I will focus on symbolic interaction as a micro framework that focuses upon immediate social interaction. Society is socially constructed through constant interaction, negotiation, and the interpretations of individuals. Within society, the individual and the individuals' encounters with one another the micro affects the larger macro institutions. In symbolic interaction individuals and society are interdependent and the social order is sustained through social interaction and adherence to the norms of society that are instituted by the dominant society. The meanings in society are constantly being changed, through these micro social interactions.

According to social psychologist, social interactions are motivated and determined by the possible outcome, which are rewards and/or punishments. The interactions that elicit approval (a type of reward) are more likely to be repeated than those that receive disapproval or sanctions (a type of punishment).

Symbolic interaction emphasis is upon an action or what Blumer (1956) calls a process. In symbolic interaction attention is paid to symbols, language, ritual, and especially language, and the idea of rehearsal. Symbolic interactionists focus on symbols and the way in which individuals encode and perceive of different kinds of information.

According to House (1977), the emphasis of symbols is on the cultural interpretations that symbols have for different individuals in the same society and how that interpretation affects behavior. For example, throughout history, the symbol of a policeman has different meanings for different people at different times. In Jim Crow, the symbol of a tree, the symbol of a cross, and the symbol of a policeman has different meanings than it does for the dominant society. Indeed, it invoked a different feelings and behaviors than the larger dominant society.

Mead (1932) stressed the mind, not in terms of the cognitive mind. Instead, Mead stressed that one of the most important ideas in terms of the mind, is the idea of the self. In symbolic interaction the idea of the self is a different conceptualization. What the self is composed of; I and me. The I is the active agent that is doing. In symbolic interaction me is the idea of self as object.

An important idea is that you learn who you are by watching yourself and seeing what you do. According to symbolic interactionist Cooley's (1902) looking glass self; trying to figure out other people and reflect back on oneself. However, in psychology personality is sustained characteristics; you carry it around you posses it; it differentiates you from others; stable. In symbolic interaction, the idea of the self is not stable idea; the idea of self stressed not stability but flexibility. You have as many self's as the people you interact with and we change in different context. This is an important connection for this project. In Jim Crow, who an individual thought they were at times, was in conflict with the ways in which they were viewed by the dominant society. The self, I, that is doing was in conflict with the self, me, the object. I would argue that African Americans

in Jim Crow were constantly being view by the dominant culture as objects, tools for the dominant culture's manipulation.

Symbolic Interactionists and Race

Historically, symbolic interactionists have been in the forefront of studying race and race relations in the U.S. south and abroad. In 1928, Robert Park described race prejudice as, "a phenomenon of status" (1928:12). Park's thought that the problem of race prejudice was directly connected with the issue of class and traditions. Park's argued that the race prejudice in the south "is caste prejudice" (1928:15). Park's (1928) thought that the etiquette of the south was mainly about preserving social distance between the races. Bertram Doyle (1937), study of race relations in the south included an analysis of slave narratives and racial etiquette as a form of government social control. Park's attributed his desire to study race relations in the south and etiquette to his mentor, Herbert Spencer who focused on, "etiquette and social ritual as a form of government and social control and, indeed, as a subject for sociological investigation" (cited in Doyle 1937: xvii). In 1956, Herbert Blumer turned his attention to the international stage of race relations. He introduced a set of definitions to assist in establishing universal theories on race and race relations. He defined the meaning of race and a multitude of racial relations. (This call to expand on theories resurfaced in 1980 through a paper by Troy Duster.) In 1956, symbolic interactionist, Herbert Blumer specifically analyzed Jim Crow as a "social process" in the south. Blumer (1956), argued that social interaction was fundamental to the process of equality for individuals, "allowing members of the racial groups to associate as equals in the new groundwork for

acting toward one another on a human and personal basis rather than on a basis of membership in racial groups" (1956:143).

In 1958, Blumer analyzed the diversity of racial and ethnic relations in the U.S. He included racial and ethic groups in the U. S. including African, Native, Japanese, and Latino Americans. Blumer (1958b) noted that the social interactions between racial and ethnic groups took place on two significantly different levels, a micro and a macro level: "Direct contact between the members of racial groups, and indirect relations between racial groups (1958b:436). In terms of race prejudice, Blumer (1958a) thought that the problem had more to do with, "group position rather than in a set of feelings which members of one racial group have toward the members of another racial group" (1958a: 3). Blumer recognized four types of feelings that are always present in terms of prejudice, "sense of superiority, foreignness', privilege, and dominant group suspicion" (1958a: 4). Blumer's analysis of industrialization led him to believe that it was as an "agent of social change" in race relations (1958a: 225). He thought that industrialization would affect race relations in three distinct ways. Industrialization would, "undermine the traditional social order; throw people in new situations—thus establishing the need for new relations, and a new order would be established around intrinsic features of industrialism" (1958a: 225). However, Blumer later noted, "industrialization does not automatically change the racial order; it may, instead, reproduce and continue the social position of the races" (cited in Killian 1970:182).

Sociologist Lewis Killian (1970) chronicled the life long contributions of Herbert Blumer in the area of race relations. He noted that Blumer focus on research was social

psychology however; his dedication to analyzing the area of racial relations was unprecedented. In 1980, Herbert Blumer and Troy Duster critically analyzed and challenged sociology scholars to reevaluate and expand on the established theories of race, including the theories of symbolic interaction scholars. They challenged scholars to analyze the Robert Park's assimilation theory, especially since Park's mentored some of the leading African Americans scholars on race relations (1980: 217). Blumer and Duster argued, "A theoretical analysis of race relations should begin with a treatment of the concept of race or of a racial group" (1980: 222). Blumer and Duster argued, "However, captivating may be its logic and however neat its fit to the experience of many immigrant groups in the United States, the assimilation theory of Park is now known to be inadequate as an explanation of race relations" (1980: 217). Unfortunately, Blumer's work on race is not widely acknowledged in the literature (Killian 1970).

Lyman (1984) and Lal (1986) lamented the lack of attention to the contributions by symbolic interactionist, such as at Blumer's work, to the study of race. According to Stanford Lyman (1984), "Robert Park and his students spent years studying race relations around the world from his perspective" (1984:35). In 2007, symbolic interactionist devoted an entire issue to the study of race edited by race scholar, Reuben May. The special edition included race scholars and noted symbolic interactionist Norman Denzin. May argued, "the contributors are not necessarily self-identified symbolic interactionist…[however] we see how symbolic interaction can help us to understand who has the power to construct, deconstruct, and reconstruct notions of race"

(2007: 295). Indeed, I begin with the insights of Blumer, Park, and Goffman and extend their investigations of racial etiquette in the south in reference to race relations.

Goffman and Dramaturgy

Symbolic interactionist, Erving Goffman's, approach to social interactions and the society in which interactions take place is the dramaturgical approach. Goffman argued that the individuals and groups are both the performers and the audience. Indeed, it is the audience or the perception of an audience that makes behavior social. According to Goffman, dramaturgical analysis focuses on how individuals perform in their social interaction with others. And the performance is symbolic of a theatrical performance that is rehearsed, practiced, and executed, often times with astute perfection. However, in Jim Crow, if the performance was not convincing, the consequences could be deadly.

According to Goffman, an important aspect of the performance, for the actor, was to create a specific impression that met the expectations that other's—ones with power and the ability to inflict punishment or reward—had in their mind. For example, in the institution of Jim Crow's, Whites' had a particular idea and notion of what African Americans should act like in their presence. African Americans were socialized to understand what Whites expected and they were taught to perfect their performance. Fundamental to understanding the performance was the realization of the possible dire consequences—physical and verbal abuse—if you didn't perform the way that Whites expected you to perform in their presence. The mastering of the performance included speaking in a low tone, showing humility and reference toward Whites, and acting

submissive. If you failed to meet these minimal requirements the consequences were harsh.

The Performance

Goffman referred to the performance as *impression management*. Impression management was important in a total institution and included the knowledge that during the performance an individual would reveal information about their feelings consciously and unconsciously. Impression management included how individuals dressed, the objects that they carried, the tone of a person's voice, and the way in which they carried themselves. For example, in Jim Crow's total institution, African Americans—especially males—would walk with their heads down and spoke in a tone that was low and humble. Often times, in the presence of Whites, African Americans would wear clothes that represented a degree of humility and modesty—for example wearing old clothes, avoiding suits and ties, to give the impression that they were not uppity. In the institution of Jim Crow thousands of African Americans businessmen were lynched in their finest clothes because this finery was viewed as evidence they were acting uppity motivated a response, extreme punishment—death (Kennedy 1990; Litwack 1998; Tolnay and Beck 1992; Dray 2003).

Being "uppity" was seen as a challenge to the idea of White superiority and it included the tone of African American's voice and their use of language. The tone and the language that African Americans utilized during their social interactions with Whites required that they respond with 'yes sir, no sir, yes madam, and no madam.' This ensured that Whites didn't think that they were acting 'uppity,' which is in essence

thinking they were equal to Whites. Impression management was fundamental to African Americans safety however; it was not a guarantee that their performance would be successful in abating an assault from Whites. The performance for African Americans in Jim Crow varied according to where they were and who was in the audience. The performance didn't just include their tone, demeanor, clothes, and words. It also included their nonverbal cues and communication.

Nonverbal Communication

During their interactions with Whites it was important that African Americans monitored and controlled their nonverbal communication. In Jim Crow's total institution, African Americans had to control their body movements, gestures, facial expressions, and most importantly eye contact. Eye contact was considered a direct challenge to White's notions of superiority. However, in some instances during a social interaction with a White person, the person's body language unconsciously revealed what an African American is really thinking and feeling. In some instances, it is difficult to control the rage, anger, and emotions that African Americans felt during their interaction with Whites. The stress of this constant everyday monitoring of feelings and expressions for frontstage performance is taxing and detrimental to one's health. In Jim Crow's total institution the backstage was crucial for African Americans. In most instances, the backstage was a place where African Americans let their guard down, change their performance, and relax. However, the boundaries of the frontstage and backstage were not set in stone; there were times when slippage occurred.

Frontstage and Backstage

Goffman (1959) concept of frontstage and backstage behavior is crucial to the analysis of Jim Crow's total institution. It contributes to the understanding of the stress that can accompany the social interactions between Whites and Blacks in Jim Crow. The frontstage and backstage analysis offers insights to the importance of Black communities and the collective experiences in the frontstage. Specifically, it gives us an understanding of how detrimental it was when the frontstage spilled over into the backstage and when the backstage spilled into the frontstage.

Backstage and frontstage behavior is completely different, in large part because the audiences are different. Because of the extreme forms of segregation, for Blacks, the frontstage most often involved their interaction with Whites while the backstage most often involved interaction with other Blacks, especially family and friends. For examine, in Asylums, Goffman analyzes how individuals try to maintain their dignity in the frontstage; they try to control the definition of the situation. However, Goffman's total institution is not rigid; there are times when the frontstage slips into the backstage. In the backstage of the total institution of Jim Crow, there were times when you encountered White invaders. For example, the frontstage spilled into the backstage when an altercation occurred in the frontstage between a Black boy, his mother, and a store owner. The White owner decided to continue the exchange by including the police and invaded the backstage; arriving at the boy's home with the intentions of "teaching him a lesson" in frontstage racial etiquette. In the event that Blacks, in the minds of Whites, broke one of the rules of racial etiquette; Whites would come into the backstage to seek

vengeance and restitution for the perceived wrong. The backstage would slip into the frontstage when Blacks expressed their discontent with the manner in which they were treated by Whites. The expression of discontent could be in the form of verbal or nonverbal communication. For example, in the backstage a worker expressed his discontent in the manner in which his fellow worker was treated. The ending result, in most instances, would be a verbal or physical assault from individual Whites or the collective White population. In this particular instance, it was a physical attack by the collective White population, and it was deadly.

In Jim Crow, the frontstage rules imposed on African Americans often included the mortification of self and humiliation. I will argue that Jim Crow's total institution had an adverse affect on the collective identities of African Americans. In symbolic interaction this idea of identities and how identities are formed is fluid and ever changing. A person's identity formation is an important aspect of feeling human, knowing oneself. In a total institution, the formation of a person's identity is taken to another level.

Identity Theories

Identity Formation

In Jim Crow's total institution, the identity of African Americans and their internalized roles were challenged by the way they were treated by the dominant White society. The self is reflected in society through roles and are organized in a salience hierarchy. The higher the salience of an identity, the more likely we are to make decisions that are consistent with the higher identity's expectations (Serpe 1987). According to Peter Burke's (1991) conceptualization of identity theory, stress results

from a disruption of the identity process. Stress is a relationship between external conditions and the current state of the person. The anxiety or stress is internal and a subjective response to the stress. The initial frontstage performance with Whites in Jim Crow was an example of stress for African Americans. Whether you are in distress is how you, as an individual, interpret it. We talk about stress in how we are feeling. Burke argues that the primary ways people experience distress or anxiety is when their fundamental identities are disrupted in some way. The extent of the distress is dependent on how salient the identity and the interruption are. For example, in Jim Crow, a woman might be a wife and a mother. A wife has ideas of what it means to be a good wife, these ideas are not exclusive; she takes care of her husband, she takes care of her children, and she is faithful. However, the roles associated with "wife" and "mother" are not consistent with the ideas and notions that White men had of Black women with husbands. However, White men, had informal rights over Black women that would prevent the fulfillment of the wife identity. This is an example of a significant interruption in the identity process.

To understand the degree of everyday stress in Jim Crow's total institution the understanding of the formation of identity is crucial. In the narratives of the African Americans who survived, they shared how they were socialized by their parents that they are just as good as anyone else. Their parents teach them to believe that they can achieve anything they want to achieve. African Americans, young and old, believed that they were good men, women, husbands, wives, mothers, and fathers. However, the beliefs that they have of themselves was in conflict with the way that they were seen by Whites

and the manner in which they were required to perform when they were in the presence of Whites in the frontstage and the backstage. These performances are an enormous source of stress because it causes distress in terms of African Americans fundamental sense of identity which Burke (1991) refers to as the feedback loop.

Burke's Feedback Loop

Burke (1991) maintains that a feedback loop is important for the identity process. In identity control theory, individuals have a set of meanings, and as individuals we get input from the environment. As a result, we go through a process which compares the input that we get from the environment, the macro, with the standard, then, there is output—meaningful behavior (Burke 1991). People are always negotiating perceptions of themselves in the situations that match their identity standard. This suggests that individuals' seek feedback that is consistent with their identities, negative or positive. Burke says that even if it is a negative identity you are trying to confirm it, too.

So, African Americans in Jim Crow's total institution sought feedback from the environment. If you think of yourself as a good person and you do the things that you expect you should be doing as a good mother or father, then there is no distress because your identity as a parent is being confirmed. However, if you don't do something that you think you should be doing as a parent, then there is distress. How African Americans viewed themselves, how they were socialized in their families was often in complete conflict with how they were viewed by Whites. This constant conflict from their frontstage environment was a source of cumulative stress which lead to distress, and anxiety.

Indeed, individuals are constantly engaged in this process, the interruptions can be more problematic when you have little control of it, like in Jim Crow's total institution. For example, when you are a husband in Jim Crow's total institution you lose your ability to protect your family, the identity of a husband is disrupted and you have little control over it. It causes you stress and anxiety. Individuals have many different identities and at times those identities can conflict.

Burke (1991) emphasizes another type of identity, episodic identities. The episodic identity can create problems because there are some things you don't have experience with and you have no way to get experience, unless you do it. I used the example earlier, the child and his mother in a frontstage exchange with a White business owner. In Jim Crow's total institution African Americans are required to constantly show humility and deference to Whites. However, the frontstage performance of deference is something that the young boy had never experienced before; it invoked a negative feedback from the environment. It resulted in frightening moments, his parents talked with him after it was over, shared lessons with him about how to act with Whites. Based on the severity of the possible consequences for this young boy—who is now a grown man—it was a one time event that left a lasting impression. It was stressful because the individual had no past reference and no formal rehearsals for the performance.

Burke's identity formation perspective is different from Kaplan's perspective of identity and self-referent behaviors. The fundamental assumption we are seeking to confirm identities even if they are negative. Kaplan says that people are always seeking to self-enhance, to look better.

Kaplan's Self-Referent Theory

The development of the self-referent constructs by Howard Kaplan in the early 1980's cast identity issues in terms of a motive for self-enhancement. According to Kaplan, "patterns of human social behavior are defined as behaviors (including feeling, thinking, and acting) that serve as stimuli for responses to, the (real or imagined, past, present, or future) behavior of other people" (1986: 13). Kaplan argues much of behavior is through the self referent process; people are continuously referencing to self and self identity. Kaplan (1986) focuses more specifically on self concept. Self-referent behaviors are the responses of individuals to themselves, an important aspect of symbolic interaction. The person engages in self-referent cognition, self-evaluative responses, self-feelings, and self-protective/self-enhancing responses. The theory suggests that when people do not receive self-enhancement, they turn to alternative methods so that they can achieve it. This can aid in the understanding how African Americans act the ways in which they framed themselves—and their action—in their narratives.

For example, an African Americans in Jim Crow is a teacher in his community. He considers himself to be a good teacher, his students do well and he is self-enhanced. In the larger educational system in the total institution of Jim Crow he is seen as someone who is beneath everyone who is White, including the janitor. In the White frontstage, he is called 'boy' or worse by individuals whose professional status is lower than his. However, he is forced to respond and interact with them with the utmost respect and reference. He is not self-enhanced.

As a consequence, the African American teacher turns outside of the larger social and educational system of Whites to receive self-enhancement. He turns back to his own collective community. In most instances, he gets reinforcement from the community, the parents, and his students. They revere him and he receives positive feedback, and they affirm his teacher identity. He decides that getting the acknowledgment from the larger White society is not as important, doesn't mean much and it does not represent much to him. He does not need White approval, Whites are in charge, they do no matter and what they think does not matter. They will not give you feedback to help with your self-enhancement. The African American teacher explains away the event and the White response in his narrative. However, the identity process has been disrupted and it can lead to stress and anguish.

As another example, some of the women who are wives were coerced to sleep with White men, based on the fear that the entire family would be in danger if they didn't. They were being good wives by protecting the family; in this way, women might self-enhance. Her husband is a good husband; he is protecting his family, which is the ultimate thing that a husband could do. He is keeping his family safe by not objecting, he is self-enhancing. The Black woman becomes an object in the minds of the White male who is violating her. What it means to be a good wife and a good husband is under constant negotiation in a total institution. What it means to be a good women and a good Christian is constantly being negotiated when women get raped in Jim Crow. If a woman is raped and she has a child the man in her life or the husband, in many instances,

accepts that child because he views it as the right thing to do. He is seen as being a good husband and a good man by his own community.

However, there are some instances when a woman gets raped by a White man and the community views it differently. The narrative is that she was having an affair. Again, this helps the collective African American man's self-enhancement. They didn't have to protect her, it was not their job, and she did it to gain favor and money. This is self-protective and self-enhancing behavior. Kaplan (1986) argues, "All self-reference responses that influence the interpersonal systems in which the individual participates fall within the category of self-protective/ self-enhancing responses" (1986: 184). However, within the process of forming identities and self-enhancing and self-protecting there are emotions.

In the institution of Jim Crow I've often wondered if the negative feedback that the collective African American community received was it different if an African American was of higher status. Did African Americans of lower status internalize the negative information more than higher status African Americans? African Americans of lower status inevitably spent more time in the company of Whites; working in their homes and caring for their children. Was their suffering more stress and anxiety because of their low status or did it make any difference what your status was you were still Black. Whether they were suffering from more stress is an issue that will be discussed later in the dissertation. However, in Jim Crow's total institution all African Americans young and old understood the meanings and the emotion behind language. The language of Jim Crow carried history and emotion; and aided the internalization process.

Affect Control Theory

It is in symbolic interaction that you will see how emotions vary and the affect is more long lasting. Affect control theory is the branch which looks at identity through language. Affective meaning are that all words and languages are structured with three things; how good is it, how powerful it is, and how active is it. Affect control theory is a variance of structural social psychology and focuses on individual definition of the situation. It takes the extreme *everything is emotion*; every word every observation is filled with emotion and revolves around emotion. These emotions are captured by examining how people respond to individual words and sentences. The basic idea is that all words are important symbol and symbols carry with them fundamental meanings that we have; sometimes things happen to change our idea about the fundamental meanings.

In Jim Crow's institution, African Americans as a collective understand that the *n-word* is filled with emotion and hate; it has a history. In the total institution of Jim Crow being called 'boy,' 'auntie,' 'uncle,' and other demeaning words symbolize for African Americans a lack of respect from Whites.

Affect control theory is useful in understanding how the survivors of Jim Crow evaluated and explained events in their everyday lives through their narratives. People analyze words based on how they are matched up with active, powerful, and good/bad. One of the major assumptions of affect control theory is that people seek confirmation or verification of their own and others' basic identities. A critique of affect control theory is the cultural dictionaries are based on the dominant group in society. They don't take into

consideration the subcultures of society. They take into consideration gender, but not race and ethnicity.

Race and Identity

According to Feagin and Feagin (2007), a racial group is, "a social group that persons inside or outside the group have decided is important to single out as inferior or superior, typically on the basis of real or alleged physical characteristics selected subjectively (2007: 7). A racial group is defined by their physical characteristics, skin color, hair, and body shape which are 'racialized.' Tukufu Zuberi and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2008) argue, "Race is about an individual's relationship to other people within the society. While racial identification may be internalized and appear to be the result of self-designation, it is, in fact, a result of the merging of self-imposed choice within an externally imposed context (2008: 7). An intricate part of defining racial groups includes incorporating particular stereotypes that help determine who gets White privileges and where individuals fall on the hierarchal ladder in Jim Crow's total institution.

The White Racial Frame

According to Joe Feagin (2006) "[The White] racial frame, which has become White 'common sense,' includes important racial stereotypes, understandings, images, and inclinations to act. . . .Various forms of this racial framing exist among different U.S. racial groups, but a strong white racial frame has prevailed because Whites have long had the power and the resources to impose this reality" (2006: 39). The white racial frame includes emotions, images, stereotypes, and anti-other frames. The white racial frame is responsible for discriminatory behavior and the routine operation of racial

oppression. The white racial frame is a frame that was utilized to justify the enslavement of Africans and the genocide of Native Americans in the United States. Feagin (2006), "The white racial frame is an organized set of racialized ideas, stereotypes, emotions, and inclinations to discriminate. This white racial frame generates closely associated, recurring, and habitual discriminatory actions" (2006: 25). The white racial frame was a fundamental aspect of Jim Crow's total institution.

The white racial frame ideology frames Whites as superior to other groups and it assists in explaining to Whites why other groups have not been as successful in this country. According to Leslie Houts-Picca and Joe Feagin (2007), "At the most general level, the [white] racial frame views Whites as mostly superior in culture and achievement and views people of color as generally of less social, economic, and political consequences than Whites—as inferior to Whites, in the making and keeping of the nation" (2007: 9).

The white racial frame is foundational and instrumental in structuring a society based on White superiority. The White racial framing was a fundamental aspect that precipitated the enslaving African Americans, in Jim Crow's total institution, and then utilized to oppress other people of color. Feagin (2006) states, "No later than the 1770s, the white frame had developed by White leaders and thinkers to include clear ideas about a hierarchy of superior and inferior biologized "races". . . .[and] a few decades later, we observe the white racial frame generating yet more imperialistic actions of the U.S. government. . . within a white-racist frame and hierarchy that was already then several centuries old (2006:5).

However, Whites are not the only ones that are affected by the white racial frame, African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Asian Americans are socialized into the white racial frame. On a macro level all individuals are socialized in the major institutions into the White racial frame of thinking about the world and their place in the world. All Americans of color think from and unconsciously embrace some aspects of the white racial frame (Chou and Feagin 2008). African Americans will think if you're smart and talks 'proper' then you are acting White. This implies that African Americans can't be smart and being White means you are smart, this comes from stereotyping in the white racial frame which focuses on dialect as evidence of superiority.

The white racial frame, which includes prejudices, stereotypes, and attitudes of superiority leads to individual and institutional discrimination. However, without the stereotypes that have been utilized throughout the total institutions in this country it would be difficult for the white racial frame to survive.

Stereotyping: An Aspect of the White Racial Frame

Feagin and Feagin (2007) defines stereotyping—an aspect of the white racial frame—as, "an overgeneralization associated with a racial or ethnic category that goes beyond existing evidence" (2007:13). Tatcho Mindiola, Yolanda Flores-Niemann, and Nestor Rodriguez (2002) define stereotypes as, "having positive or negative sets of beliefs held by an individual about the characteristics of a group…stereotypes justify racism" (2002:19-20). Stereotyping serves several purposes for individuals and some would argue that it occurs at an unconscious and conscious level (Feagin and Feagin 2007). Stereotyping is sewn into the fabric of this country. All stereotypes, historical and

contemporary, are created by Whites for the purpose of perpetuating racial oppression. African Americans, along with other individuals of color, historically in this country have been stereotyped as oversexed, criminal, lazy, and unintelligent just to name a few of the stereotypes.

According to Deirdre A. Royster (2003), stereotyping of people of color as lazy, less intelligent, and undeserving as entire groups ensured, "White-skinned newcomers that they would be granted the rights and privileges associated with U. S. citizenship, as well as meaningful education and economic opportunities" (2003: 24). Stereotypes were not just negative views that didn't carry weight in society; they determined the life course of entire groups of people. However, the importance of understanding the psychological toll that stereotypes take on its targets can not be underestimated. Indeed, stereotypes adversely affect the self-esteem of the individuals, who are the targets of the negative stereotypes.

Stereotyping can be detrimental in many aspects including that the negative stereotyping can, and in many cases is, internalized by the targets, this is called stereotype threat (Steele and Aronson 1995). According to Steele and Aronson (1995), the existence and perpetuation of negative stereotypes toward a particular group, "means that anything one does or any of one's features that conform to it make the stereotype more plausible as a self-characterization in the eyes of others, and perhaps even in one's own eyes . . . . Stereotype threat is experienced, essentially, as a self-evaluative threat" (1995: 797). All stereotypes, positive and negative have detrimental psychological consequences for people of color.

Stereotyping helps to justify and explain for the group in power why things are the way they are. Stereotypes, whether positive or negative, serve to solidify the current racial structure and to justify White privilege (Omi and Winant 1994). Individuals of color are categorized into racial groups which are riddled with stereotypes to justify racism, oppression, and discrimination. The racial stereotyping of people of color is fundamental to the white racial frame.

Systemic Racism and the Frame

Racism is a fundamentally the foundation to US society (Feagin 2006). Racism is often overt behavior, is viewed as a normal part of society, and it is analyzed in a circular manner (Bonilla-Silva 2006). For individuals racism is an attitude and the behavior. However, virtually all of the social institutions in the U.S. were founded and operate on the basis of systematic racism.

Systemic racism is a historical and systemic unjust treatment, utilizing social institutions to oppress people of color. Feagin (2006) states, "systemic racism encompasses a broad range of White-racist dimensions: the racist ideology, attitudes, emotions, habits, actions, and institutions of Whites in this society. Thus systemic racism is far more than a matter of racial prejudice and individual bigotry. It is a material, social and ideological reality that is well-imbedded in major U.S. institutions" (2006: 2). This country was built on racial oppression and the systemic racism is a fundamental aspect of that oppression.

Systemic racism is about the everyday experiences of people of color that are born into a society [that was founded on racial oppression]. One major aspect of systemic

racism is unjust enrichment and unjust impoverishment. Whites have unjustly been enriched by a system of racial oppression which subjugates African Americans in the total institution of slavery and Jim Crow. Whites have achieved their wealth, inheritance, and economic capital off the free labor of African Americans. African Americans have been unjustly impoverished because they were enslaved or in near slavery conditions for most of their existence in this country (Feagin 2006). One aspect of unjust enrichment is the intergenerational transmission of wealth. There are Whites who will argue that they didn't own any slaves; however that does not mean that their family didn't benefit from the system of slavery. They were the recipients of unjust enrichment while African Americans suffered with unjust impoverishment.

Unjust Enrichment and Unjust Impoverishment

Benjamin Bowser (2007) documents the rise of the Black middle class and explains how historical events such as World War II, Jim Crow, Civil Rights Movement, and slavery were fundamental in the development of a Black middle class, while at the same time he offers evidence about unjust impoverishment. Bowser states,

> Of utmost importance to the US upper class (those at the top of Warner's hierarchy) is the continuity of their economic privilege and high status across generations . . . they have their wealth and plan to keep this wealth for their children, their children's children, and so on. . . .Each generation must at least preserve the wealth (assets) of the prior generation and ideally increase it (2007: 89).

However, the unjust impoverishment of African Americans is detrimental and life altering. In Jim Crow's total institution, African Americans were not able to preserve their wealth; land, houses, and family fortunes due to lack of protection from the law in Southern states. According to Shapiro (2004), "transformative assets involve the

capacity of unearned, inherited wealth to lift a family economically and socially beyond where their own achievements, jobs, and earnings would place them" (2004: 2). Shapiro (2004) unveils, what is often hidden, the reality of how crucial homeownership is and was to the future wealth of African American families:

> Homeownership is the most critical pathway for transformative assets; hence examining homeownership also keeps our eyes on contemporary discrimination . . .Families accumulate wealth through home appreciation. . . .Homeownership appears critical to success in other areas of life as well, from how well a child does in school to better marital stability. . . .Understanding how young families can afford to buy homes and how this contributes greatly to the racial wealth gap brings us back full circle to the importance of family legacies (2004: 3).

Shapiro makes the important connections between owning property and economic stability, education, and a better quality of life and life chances for individuals. His arguments about the importance of wealth are similar to those made by Benjamin Bowser. However, Bowser specifically mentions Jim Crow and how African Americans lost their wealth and experienced unjust impoverishment. Bowser states,

> There were untold incidents of White night riders who visited prosperous Black farmers, threatening them if they did not leave, raping the farmers' wives and daughters, and then burning down houses and barns for good measure. . . .A number of students found that their families had once owned substantial property in the South that is now very valuable . . . After fleeing, often in the middle of the night, family members would end up in southern cities and eventually migrate to their present homes in California and other states, where they have lived in poverty (2007: 48).

During Jim Crow, thousands of African Americans were faced with extreme pressure, from Whites, to give up their land, homes, and property. Some African Americans fought and lost their lives trying to save their families wealth, unjust impoverishment for African Americans and unjust enrichment for Whites. According to Elliot Jaspin (2007),

there are many [Jim Crow] counties in the U.S. where racial cleansing occurred. Jaspin states,

> History is what we choose to remember. . . .The racial cleansing that struck Forsyth County, Georgia in 1912, for example engulfed at least a half dozen surrounding counties in northern Georgia before it burned itself out in 1913. . .More than a thousand people—97 percent of the county's Black population—were driven out over a period of about two months. They owned 1, 900 acres of farmland, nearly all of which they were forced to sell or abandoned. The county's five Black churches were burned. . . .Racial cleansings occurred across the nation. They occurred in the North and Midwest as well as the South (2007: 4-5).

These racial expulsions are not isolated incidents; they were systematic removals of African Americans from their homes and land. Researcher Leon Litwack (1998) states, "property ownership always makes the Negro more assertive, more independent, and the cracker can't stand it" (1998: 47). Shapiro (2004), Litwack (1998), and Browser (2007), are introducing the argument that the unjust impoverishment of African Americans and the unjust enrichment of Whites is an issue that needs to be explored.

The intergenerational transmission of wealth, in the form of land, guarantees a generation's education, acquiring of more land, security for the hard times, and a means to continue building economic capital. Thousands of African Americans were unjustly impoverished in the total institution of Jim Crow and beyond. There is evidence, there is documentation, and there is still time to address these issues with public policy changes that can redistribute the wealth that was stolen from African Americans and their descendants a mere 40 years ago.

The focus on wealth and the intergenerational transmission of wealth through inheritance is fundamental to systemic racism. The unjust enrichment of Whites has not

been addressed in public policy. Hearing the voices of individuals who lost their land, wealth and inheritance adds volumes to his argument. An African American respondent, who survived Jim Crow's total institution, recalls how Whites stole land from African Americans:

> My grandmother said, "At one time a lot of Blacks owned the land that is now owned by Whites and that they were forced to sell their land." Those who did not sell lost their lives. Or the land was taken from them by means of taxation and indebtedness that they had incurred and they weren't aware that they were incurring. . . .Some of them were killed to take the land; they [Whites] killed some of them to take the land. . .Some drowning[s] that were later said accidental but they didn't kill them accidental. I wasn't suppose to hear it because I wasn't suppose to be around when adults were talking.

African Americans can, and have, recalled how as a collective they owned land that is now a source of wealth for the children of the Whites who stole it. The history of the theft of African Americans land is not revealed in the historical documents, Whites have selective memories. Jaspin states, "Whites had driven Blacks out, and yet the memory of this expulsion worked at Whites like a stone in a shoe" (2007: 222).

Indeed, African Americans had their own reasons for keeping the theft of their land a secret from their family members. As Browser argues, "A number of students found that their families had once owned substantial property in the South that is now very valuable" (2007: 48).

A respondent in the Southwest living in the grips of Jim Crow's total institution mentions the large amounts of land that African Americans had in this country and how her family's land was stolen:

> My grandfather owned a lot of land down there. My grandfather was one of the, if we could call it, one of the important Blacks down there. He had

> over 500 acres of land. He had his own farm. He had people who worked for him. I've never known a hungry day in my life. There are other people that might have, we were poor. I don't mean that we had of money, but we had, we lived on the farm with my grandfather that had the resources and he wasn't an educated man, he was just a man that had common sense, good mother wit, and know how to do things. But I've never known a hungry day in my life

The history of land theft in this country dates back to the original founders of this country, "Native Americans." However, the most recent theft of land is rectifiable. Elliot Jaspin maintains that the documentation is available, in most instances; individuals can provide the evidence that their families owned the stolen land, unjust impoverishment and unjust enrichment for Whites. African Americans have an opportunity to investigate these issues and form a movement to regain their rightful inheritance. Time is of the essence, as history has shown, Whites have amnesia until their victims are dead.

Institutional Racism and Discrimination

According to Carmichael and Hamilton (1967), institutional racism and discrimination is fundamental to the social institutions in the society including the educational, economics, health, and political systems. They argue that individual discrimination is when someone burns a cross in front of the house of African Americans. However, institutional discrimination is when thousands of African American children live in poverty, go to bed hungry, and die from lack of health care. Carmichael and Hamilton argue that institutional discrimination is an important issue.

Feagin and Feagin (2007), define institutional discrimination as, "actions carried out by members of dominant groups, or their representatives, that have a differential and harmful effect on members of subordinate groups" (2007: 19). Fred Pincus (2003) states

institutional discrimination, "refers to the policies of majority institutions and the behavior of individuals who implement these policies and control these institutions that are intended to have a differential and/or harmful effect on less powerful groups" (2003: 2).

The total institution of Jim Crow is an example of institutional discrimination. Gordon Allport (1958), "As a rule discrimination has more immediate and serious social consequences than has prejudice. . . .[and] segregation is an institutionalized form of discrimination, enforced legally or by common custom" (1958: 15). In the South, the major institutions, in conjunction with the federal government, implemented laws that discriminated against subordinate groups, African Americans, Mexican Americans and other people of color. There is research on the experiences of African Americans however; Mexican Americans had some of the same experiences of discrimination in the South and other parts of the country as African Americans. The concepts of discrimination, stereotyping, and racism are fundamental to the functioning of institutional and systemic racism, which is the larger issue.

In a total institution, African Americans are constantly reevaluating and renegotiating their identities, facing discrimination and racism, resisting stereotypes that were invented by Whites to define them, and renegotiating what they think it means to be a parent and a spouse. They are forced to do this in Jim Crow's total institution because they had little control to determine what would happen to them in the frontstage and in the backstage of a total institution.

In Jim Crow's total institution, fear was ripe and served as a means of social control. African Americans learned to hide their fear, rage, and anger behind the veil.

Double Consciousness: Living Behind the Veil

In 1903, W.E.B. Du Bois predicted, "The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color-line." Indeed, we know this to have been true. His profound description of the soul of the African American was thus: "a peculiar sensation this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels this two-ness, A Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder" (1903: xi).

Sociologist Paul Gilroy states, "The concept focused on the experiences of African American pre-slavery and post-slavery. The term double-consciousness and behind the veil represent aspects of the practice of racial etiquette" (1993: 4). You know and feel things but you are prohibited from speaking about it without retaliation. You feel anger, but you could not express it without retaliation. In the backstage, you are not submissive, but you are required to "act" submissive to survive in the frontstage the constant hiding of the true self behind the veil in order to survive.

DuBois referred to double consciousness as a particular mental state of being—which included constant mental negotiation. In Jim Crow part of the performance was to learn how to control your emotions, your tone, and your nonverbal communication. The mask of double-consciousness assisted in that aspect of the performance. In as much, as the

mask assisted in the performance, it did shield African American men and women from the pain and the psychological damage. The Black actor in Jim Crow's total institution had to relay a character that was submissive in the frontstage constantly waiting for an opportunity to slip into the backstage to allow the dual character an opportunity to emerge. In some instances, the constant dualism didn't allow and failed to free African Americans from expressing who they really were within the larger society. Today, African Americans are still living a life of double-consciousness, living behind a veil that does not allow the truth to reveal itself with a sense of clarity. The hypocrisy in the South that Du Bois spoke of was necessary if African Americans were to survive.

According to bell hooks, "To perpetuate and maintain White supremacy, White folks have colonized Black Americans, and part of the colonizing process has been teaching us to repress our rage, to never make them the targets of any anger we feel about racism . . . similarly, the cultural mistrust that many African Americans have for White Americans involves a reasonable suspicion of Whites, which is adopted by African Americans for survival" (Feagin and McKinney 2003:41; see also Grier and Cobbs 1968).

However, in Jim Crow's total institution, there were some Whites who showed kindness and support to African Americans; they did what they could to help. Several of the respondents that survived Jim Crow shared how they were fortunate because they had 'good Whites' that were kind to them. In Jim Crow's total institution, Blacks qualified Whites in their interviews. If an African American wanted to identify Whites that were out of the ordinary they would referred to them as, "good Whites." These

Whites expressed kindness, humanity, and assisted African Americans. For example, an African American respondent states, “Ms. Ella was a good White person, she looked out for me, she didn’t beat me, she defended me.”

In this dissertation, I give voice to the respondents who shared experiences of the goodness of Whites in Jim Crow’s total institution. Who were these “good White people”? Were they “good Whites” because they didn’t verbally and physically assault Blacks? Were they “good Whites” because they didn’t rape, molest, torture, or kill Blacks? Were they good Whites because they were kind and generous with their material and social support? More importantly, the majority of Whites in Jim Crow’s total institution were not good Whites in the eyes of African Americans. The majority of Whites in Jim Crow’s total institution participated in the oppression and restriction of African Americans. However, the respondents shared stories of ‘good Whites’ who assisted them in their efforts to resist and survive in the total institution of Jim Crow.

Mental Health and Stress: A Macro Experience

As I stated earlier in this dissertation it is important to differentiate the micro—the individual experiences and the macro—the larger structural and collective experience. Although the literature in psychology focuses on the individual experience, it offers an important foundation to begin the process of building and formulating the argument of collective stress, collective trauma, and long-term consequences of both.

In the second part of this chapter, I will focus on the larger issue of trauma as a collective experience for the African American survivors of Jim Crow. However, I will begin with the micro experience with stress, the stress process, social stress, trauma, and

individual experiences with posttraumatic stress syndrome. Then, I will explore the macro—the collective—memory, experience, trauma, and historical trauma.

Stress Defined

Carol Aneshensel (1992) defined stress as "a state of arousal arising from socioenvironmental demands that tax the ordinary adaptive capacity of the individual, or from the absence of the means to attain sought-after ends" (1992:15). According to Blair Wheaton (1999),

> Selye defined stress as the state of wear and tear of the body. . . .In the biological model, a stressor is seen simply as that which produces stress. . . .Although the biological model gives no guidance in defining stressors, the engineering model—where the concept of stress began—does provide some metaphorical guidance. . . .Stressors become stressful when the level of force exceeds limits defining structural integrity (1999: 280).

The stress that African Americans felt in the total institution of Jim Crow did cause a wear and tear on the body. Wheaton argues that there are varieties of stresses, "stress that occurs as a trauma to the material acts inherently differently than stress that acts as a continuous load on the material" (1999: 283). Leonard Pearlin (1999), argued that social stress, "is not about unusual people doing unusual things and having unusual experiences" (1999: 396). Pearlin (1999) argued that stress is a process. African Americans found themselves dealing daily with extreme social, political, and economic constraints as well as psychological outcomes such as fear, anxiety, anguish, shame, and insurmountable stress. In addition, "social outcomes such as public humiliation, stigmatization, exclusion, imprisonment, banishment, or expulsion are all highly consequential and sometimes devastating for human welfare" (Jackman 2002:21).

The Stress Process

Elderly African Americans had the daily stress that was associated with living their lives, in an oppressive environment; however, the racial violence they experienced was in many instances "unscheduled." Consequently, Pearlin (1999) argued that these frequent "unscheduled" daily events of "serious stressors usually generate additional stressors, a phenomenon referred to as "stress proliferation (1999:166). According to Pearlin the process of stress has three components, "stressors, moderators, and outcomes" (1999:61).

Pearlin et al. (1981) argued that the stress process included the notion that there were many sources of stress; there were a diversity of ways in which the stress manifested itself and individuals had ways in which they mediated the stress. There are many sources of stress that impact the lives of individuals. Pearlin et al. (1981) states that life strains were a source of stress. He argued that some of the mediating resources that individuals utilized to ease their stress were social support from church, families, loved ones, and spirituality. These were the ways in which individuals were able to cope with stress. Pearlin et al. (1981) argued that some of the ways in which stress manifested itself was that individuals became depressed; depression is a consequence of stress. The individual would become depressed especially if the events that they experienced were undesired and enduring coupled with the inability to change the events.

Social Stress

According to Pearlin (1989) there is a process to stress. Pearlin contends that there are structural contexts that can be found in the social institutions of a society. In a

society there are roles, statuses, and normative expectations. In societies there are individuals who have access to resources and there are those who don't. As individuals try to fulfill the normative expectations of their roles, the inability to fulfill expectations can create a conflict. Where there is conflict, there is a considerable amount of stress. Pearlin (1989) argues, "potentially stressful experiences and the ways in which they are affected by these experiences may originate in the social orders of which they are a part" (1989: 242-243). Carol Aneshensel (1992) argues that [generally] there has been little research on the stress experienced by women, minorities, and low status individuals.

Race, Identity, and Stress

I will focus on the stress that develops when you have conflicts and disruptions in a person's identity while living in a total institution. One aspect of a total institution is living with the reality that the professional, economical, and educational accomplishments in your life don't matter to those in power when you are living in a total institution. You will not be addressed in a manner that acknowledges those accomplishments.

According to Sociologist Charles Johnson, "A Negro whose name is not known [or in some instances even if your name is known] is called 'boy' if young and 'uncle' if old. A young Negro woman is called by her first name if known, or hailed anonymously as 'You, there,' or some vague designation, if unknown. An older woman is called 'auntie.'…The command used by petty officials, police, *overseers*, and similar White persons with any semblance of authority is simply and bluntly 'nigger'" (1943:139).

African Americans coped and resisted with the inability to freely show each other respect by calling each other "doctor" or "brother." The lack of respect from Whites, regardless of your accomplishments created stress for African Americans. A respondent in the Southeast remembers her father's defiance with Whites:

> Oh yes, my daddy, didn't have a mouth like I have, but my daddy was the type of person that did not like to be called out of his name and he was not a man to be called a boy. And he didn't care who you were, you could be his boss, but if you didn't call him by his name he would stop you. And those are the things they wanted to do to him: uncle, boy. He wasn't no boy, he was a man with five/six kids. Yeah, I've heard him talk about that and how he would tell them they couldn't do that. He told me something, one year when my daddy and my mom both worked in . . .a laundry mat and my dad was out of a job and so he went to work at that laundry mat and the patrons at that laundry mat wouldn't want to give him the respect of being a man. He quit and, you know, we didn't have anything . . .my grandfather sold the farm and we moved

Scholars vary on the issue of identity. According to Doane and Bonilla-Silva (2004), an individual's sense of ethnic or racial identity is linked to four things; relative size, power, appearance, and discrimination. If an individual's group is relatively small, doesn't have much power, has an appearance that is different from the majority group, and is discriminated against often, the group will have a strong sense of ethnic or racial identity (Doane and Bonilla-Silva 2004). When possible, African Americans living in Jim Crow expressed their continuous support for each other. They established social networks to combat the everyday stress that they endured. The support that African Americans gave each other assisted them in coping with the total institution of Jim Crow. There is research that supports the notion that women are more likely to seek emotional support from other women. The African American women survivors of Jim

Crow were under tremendous pressure and role strain; the role of wife, mother, daughter, sister, and confident.

Carter (2007) focus on race-based stress however, he did address issues of identity and the mental health of African Americans. This study examines how racism, stress, identity, and mental health affect African Americans. These researchers with the assistance of 255 African American adults try to understand how racism affected how individuals view themselves. The results of the study have long-term benefits and can affect the way counseling and research in the area is done. They found astounding results in reference to how counselors can assist in building the self-esteem of African Americans when they are trained in the area of racism and stress.

Social Stressors

Pearlin (1989) argues that there are social stressors. A social stressor can include life events, problems in the individual's life that are recurrent or long lasting. According to Pearlin 1989) these types of stressors are considered to be chronic strain. Pearlin (1989) argues that chronic strains as stressors in life are connected with the major roles that individuals must conform to in life. These chronic stressors are connected with a role overload, the conflicts that are considered to be interpersonal and that cause an enormous strain on the individual. Some of the role conflicts could include wife-daughter, professor-student, and minority-majority.

The convergence of events and chronic strains can produce enormous stress in the individual. Pearlin (1989) states, "three ways in which events and strains come together in stressful experience (1) events lead to chronic stress; (2) chronic strains lead to events;

and (3) strains and events provide meaning contexts for each other" (1989: 246). The chronic stress associated in fulfilling the role of wife, mother, husband, protector and provider, and daughter is undeniable. African Americans women struggled to maintain their dignity as wives even though there were frequent rapes of women who were married. Husbands struggled with being providers and protectors dealing with the fact that protecting their wives could result in their death. It has been reported that women and daughters were raped while the men in the family were forced to witness the violent event. These traumatic experiences caused enormous pain, suffering, and ultimately long lasting stress on the individuals who experienced them. Carol Aneshensel (1992) argues, "Chronic strains are most potent. . . .Chronic stressors include difficulties associate with participation in institutionalized roles; enduring interpersonal difficulties; status inconsistency; goal-striving stress; and life-style incongruity. . . .Women, the young, and those of low socioeconomic status encounter the most severe role strains" (1992: 20-21).

African American men, women, and children experienced chronic stress and trauma that has had a long lasting impact. The stress was long lasting without a definitive resolution. These individuals experienced acute violence early on in life and at times continuing into their later years of life. Blair Wheaton (1999) defines chronic stressors as stressors that "develop slowly and insidiously as continuing and problematic conditions in our social environments or roles, and (2) typically have a longer time course than life events from onset to resolution" (1999: 283).

This is an indication that the inability to have these chronic stressors resolved, in a person's lifetime, will contribute to the long lasting stress that is a symptom of

segregation stress syndrome. There was no resolution to the violence that African Americans experienced. There has been no formal presidential apology, no restitution, and no formal acknowledgement of their traumatic and painful experiences. African Americans were the target of violence based on their race and status in society.

Post-Traumatic Stress Syndrome

The literature on posttraumatic stress syndrome is important to this dissertation. How does an individual define posttraumatic stress syndrome? How does the syndrome apply to an entire group of individuals, the collective experience? In the psychology literature posttraumatic stress syndrome is applied to the experiences of one individual. In this dissertation I will apply the syndrome to an entire group of individuals. Early in the 1980's the American Psychiatric Association recognized posttraumatic stress syndrome as a psychiatric disorder. However, it was viewed as a disorder that affected the individual and it was not applied or even considered in response to the survivors of Jim Crow.

Irving Allen (1996) gave an overview of how racism and violence can lead to posttraumatic stress. Allen (1996) defines posttraumatic stress and the consequences it has on the physical and mental well-being of African Americans. He elaborates on the social, racial, and medical problems of African Americans, as well as, the problems with the health care system. Allen (1996) addresses the problems with discrimination in schools, employment, and in everyday life. He elaborates on how race should be taken into serious consideration when medial health care practitioners are working with patients of different ethnic groups. He offers different treatments that could be used for

dealing with drug and alcohol abuse especially when it is connected with posttraumatic stress disorder.

Terry Mills and Carla Edwards (2002), state that the elderly in this country who are African American have dealt with racism for a very long-time. The elderly are more likely to be suffering from symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder without realizing it. The elderly African American who lived through Jim Crow are especially vulnerable. They support what I suggest that there is literally no historical work done on the long-term problems the elderly have had in reference to their experience, over time, with racism. The posttraumatic stress syndrome literature mainly focuses on soldiers who return home from war and suffer with the memories of the horrors.

Traumatic Events: Posttraumatic Stress Syndrome

Ronald Kessler and Shanyang Zhao (1999) state that little research has been done on the kinds of trauma that are most likely to lead to symptoms of PTSD. Their preliminary findings indicate that *experiencing* the trauma of rape, sexual molestation, and combat exposure and *witnessing* someone being *badly injured or killed* as high predictors of PTSD (Kessler and Zhao 1999; Amir and Sol 1999; Horowitz et al. 2001). The traumatic Kessler and Zhao (1999) state, "men are more likely to experience at least one trauma overall, women are more likely to experience trauma associated with high probability of PTSD" (1999: 74). Research shows that African American men had the highest rate of trauma that led to posttraumatic stress disorder. Indeed, African Americans during Jim Crow experienced multiple traumas associated with the development of PTSD symptoms; rape, lynching, sexual assault, killings, and combat like conditions.

Being exposed to trauma at an early age was a high predictor of a life long struggle with depression, especially for women (Thoits 1983). Witnessing, experiencing, and/or hearing about a traumatic event could lead to posttraumatic stress syndrome (van der Kolk, McFarlane, and Weisaeth 2006). "What distinguishes people who develop PTSD from people who are merely temporarily stressed is that they start organizing their lives around the trauma" (van der Kolk, McFarlane, and Weisaeth 2006:6). Elderly African Americans organized their lives around the traumatic event of Jim Crow, even today.

Symptoms of Posttraumatic Stress Syndrome

Horowitz, Wilner, and Alvarez developed a scale to diagnosis PTSD, the impact of event scale. The diagnosis of PTSD was made when, "at least one reexperiencing, three avoidance, and two arousal symptoms were endorsed on the scale by individuals who were traumatized" (Foa and Meadows 1997:461). The reexperiencing included intrusive thoughts, nightmares, flashbacks, emotionally upset; avoidance included avoiding thoughts, feelings, places, activities, amnesia, and denial; arousal cluster included sleep disturbance, irritability, difficulty concentrating, hyperalterness, and increased startle (Foa and Meadows 1997:466).

Racism and Posttraumatic Stress Syndrome

Bryant-Davis (2007) gives a more detailed explanation of the types of race-based trauma that occurs to African Americans. The article explains the different levels of race-based trauma. Bryant-Davis (2007) further explores and defines what the trauma is and how it manifests itself. The article extends the case of race-based trauma and elaborates on how counselors can be trained to work with patients who come to them for

assistance. She elaborates on how racism and sexism are intersecting forms of discrimination. She takes the work done by Carter (2007) and she takes it another step and offers specific physical and psychological effects such as anger, shame, and hopelessness.

In the article by Allen (1996), the reader is given an overview of how racism and violence can lead to posttraumatic stress. Allen (1996) defines posttraumatic stress and the consequences it has on the physical and mental well-being of African Americans. He elaborates on the social, racial, and medical problems of African Americans, as well as, the problems with the health care system. Allen maintains that problems with discrimination in schools, employment, and in everyday life based on race should be taken into serious consideration when medial health care practitioners are working with patients of different ethnic groups. He offers different treatments for dealing with drug and alcohol abuse especially when it is connected with posttraumatic stress disorder.

Mills and Edwards (2002), focused on the elderly and how in this country African Americans that have dealt with racism for a very long-time are more likely to be suffering from symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder without realizing it. The elderly African American who lived through Jim Crow are especially vulnerable. Mills and Edwards maintain that there is literally no historical work done on the long-term problems the elderly have had in reference to their experience, over time, with racism.

Stress and Traumas

Trauma can be the result of, “being unable to protect oneself and one’s children, about failing to bring security and happiness to one’s family, and about acknowledging

one's physical and financial powerlessness" (van der Kolk, McFarlane, and Weisaeth 2006: 31). African Americans dealt with the normal daily stresses and hassles of life that most individuals dealt with. Wheaton defines these daily hassles as fixing dinner, caring for family members, and working at a job, problems with neighbors, relatives, and friends. However, Wheaton goes on to describe events that are not simple daily hassles but are traumas. Wheaton (1999) defines traumas,

> Thus, we can see a number of elements of traumas that are important: (1) They must be more severe in level of threat than other sources of stress; (2) they may occur either as isolated events or long-term, chronic problems; and (3) because of their severity, they are thought to have greater potential for long-term impacts than most other types of stressors. . . .The archetypal form of a trauma—characterized by a sudden, unanticipated, dramatic, and profoundly threatening experience. . . .Some of the most important traumas in life may occur as a series of recurring and expected events that begin to be chronic in form, with the victim living with the belief and the fear that the next event could occur at any time. These kinds of traumatic situations act very much like chronic stress and could constitute the single most virulent form of stressful experience (1999: 285-286).

These are the traumas African Americans experienced in the total institution of Jim Crow. The possibility that you would be attacked violently was a constant fear for African Americans. Some individuals reported being raped, on more than one occasion. African Americans were not sure what would happen to them as they went about their daily chores. If a person was raped, attacked, and abused verbally; individuals would hear about it in the community. The possibility a violent traumatic event was a constant fear. The resulting trauma was collective, long-lasting, and historical. Teresa Evans-Campbell, Karen Lincoln, and David Takeuchi (2007) define this type of trauma as historical trauma.

According to Kirby Farrell (1998), in describing trauma goes beyond the scope of the individual and considers it more of as a cultural word, expression or image—a trope, "trauma helps account for a world in which power and authority seem overwhelmingly unjust" (1998: 14). The trauma experienced by the survivors of Jim Crow and the way in which they explain that trauma in their narratives is similar to Farrell's description of trauma—it's collective, cultural, and is expressed with phrases and images. For example, the burning cross, for survivors it represents a form of collective trauma. According to van der Kolk, McFarland, and Weisaeth:

> The question of shame is critical . . . trauma is usually accompanied by intense feelings of humiliation; to fell threatened, helpless, and out of control is a vital attack on the capacity to be able to count on oneself. Shame is the emotion related to having let oneself down. The same that accompanies such personal violations as rape, torture, and abuse is so painful that it is frequently disassociated: Victims may be unaware of its presence, and yet it comes to dominate their interactions with the environment. Denial of one's own feelings of shame, as well as those of other people, opens the door for further abuse" (2006: 15).

I argue that the collective trauma can be expressed with figurative images that represent symbols of collective trauma. Survivors of Jim Crow experienced racial traumatic events as a collective. In this chapter, I focus on the larger issue of trauma as a collective experience for the African American survivors of Jim Crow. I focus on symbolic interaction as a micro framework that considers immediate social interaction to be the place where society exists. I focus on the mental health literature, racism and mental health, and posttraumatic stress syndrome.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Initially, the purpose of my research project was to explore how African Americans coped with the Jim Crow system that replaced slavery; what were the coping mechanisms, how did they survive, and did they pass those coping skills on to the next generation. However, as the project unfolded the data reveals that the African American survivors of Jim Crow, too, were living in a total institution; Jim Crow's total institution.

In this chapter, I provide the approach I utilized to collect the data for the dissertation. I am guided by the work of Feagin and Sikes (1994); his approach of qualitative research provided me with the foundation for this research project. I chose interview for this project to record the experiences of elderly African Americans. In this chapter, I provide the data, the importance of qualitative research, the information on the respondents, the interview cites, the fieldwork and notes, the use of newspaper accounts, and the limitations of the project.

The Project

The data for this dissertation is the result of two similarly structured research projects. One project was conducted in the Southeast and the other project was conducted in the Southwest. Elderly African Americans were interviewed in-depth about their experiences under Jim Crow's total institution. I contacted key informants, such as ministers and teachers, in two Black communities in the Southeast and Southwest. They provided me with names of older African American men and women who might be

willing to participate, and I collected further names by making presentations at organizational meetings and from references by the initial respondents. I secured a list of 60 older people, in the Southeast, 52 of who could be reached and agreed to be interviewed in 2003-2004. Only three respondents decided not to participate.

In the Southwest, I contacted key informants, such as community leaders and ministers, in four African American communities and initially secured the names of 50 older African American men and women who were willing to participate. I collected other names from references by the initial respondents using a snowball sample. With the assistance of four undergraduate students, forty elderly African Americans were interviewed in-depth about their experiences in Jim Crow's total institution.

The Participants

In the Southeast, 52 respondents include 37 women and 15 men, a disproportion dictated to a substantial degree by the lower life expectancy of African American men. A substantial majority (65 percent) of the respondents were over the age of 70, with the rest between 52 and 69. About 60 percent held relatively low-paying jobs (such as domestic worker or hospital aide) during their work lives under Jim Crow's total institution, and most of the rest held modest-paying jobs like school teacher in a racially segregated school.

Among them, 35 percent held domestic-work or similar service-work positions, 25 percent were hospital and other health-care workers, 25 percent were teachers, 10 percent were small businesspeople or held a managerial position, and 5 percent were medical professionals. Based on the interviewed narratives, all were strongly committed

to education and managed to secure a high-school diplomas, with a bit more than 25 percent having some college work. The requirements for high school changed over time.

In the Southwest, 40 respondents include 25 women and 15 men; again, I see a disproportion dictated by the lower life expectancy of African American men. A substantial majority (75 percent) of the respondents were over the age of 70, with the rest between 58 and 69. About 65 percent held relatively low-paying jobs (such as domestic worker or hospital aide) during their work lives under Jim Crow's total institution, and most of the rest held modest-paying jobs like school teacher in a racially segregated school.

Among them, 45 percent held domestic-work or similar service-work positions, 20 percent were hospital and other health-care workers, 20 percent were teachers, 15 percent were small businesspeople or held a managerial position, all were strongly committed to education and managed to secure a high-school diplomas, with a bit more than 15 percent having done some college work.

The Importance of Qualitative Research

The method of qualitative research offers scholars an opportunity to ascertain through interview the experiences of their respondents. In qualitative research the respondent is given the opportunity to tell their 'story.' Qualitative research gives a voice to individuals in society who have been oppressed and silenced. Specifically, when minorities tell their stories they have the opportunity to realize that they are not alone and their experiences are legitimate and important. Richard Delgado argues, "Stories

create a kind of cohesive bond combined with shared understanding and meanings" (1989: 2412).

The Importance of Narratives

In symbolic interaction narratives have the widest range. The narrative is a social collective construction of the stable unchanging identity. The idea of the narrative reconstruction is the ability to the individual to construct the narrative as they evolve over time. One aspect of the narrative is that we are aware of who and when we are sharing our narratives. The listener becomes a part of how the narrative is shared. As an African American woman the stories that were shared with me by the respondents was impacted by who I am as an individual. I am an African American woman and that impacted how the narrative was relayed to me. For example, I would argue that an African American man wouldn't have gotten the narratives from the respondents they way that they were relayed to me. There is not doubt that a White interviewer (regardless of gender) would have gotten the narratives that were shared with me. Who I am, situated me in a social system that the elderly African Americans that I spoke with could relate to and that had a enough trust in how I was situated to share these painful recollections with me.

Of course, it is possible that 40 or even 30 years ago they might not have shared the narratives with me. The social context assisted them in feeling secure enough to tell their stories. However, in many instances there were reservations about the information getting back to Whites, about their names being associated with the interview, and fear that someone would discover that they talked to me about their experiences in the south.

On several occasions the respondents had to be reassured more than once that their names would not be connected to the interview.

Interview Setting

Most of the interviews took place in the respondent's home and lasted one-to-two hours. The participants were interviewed using an interview schedule with a series of open-ended questions about their social and economic lives in the total institution of Jim Crow. The questions obtained from a review of the relevant, yet limited, historical literature available on the era.

This sort of research is sensitive, and the respondents might have been less inclined to answering questions over the phone or answering questions to a mail survey. African Americans still fear White retaliation for speaking out in their communities would not have spoken to unfamiliar researchers. Furthermore, identifying and being able to randomly sample from the population I am studying might have been even more difficult.

Fieldwork

In addition to interviews, I selected a setting, in the Southeast, to conduct ethnographic participant observation. My field observation was conducted during a local organization meeting for elderly African American women. The objective was to understand how elderly African American women interacted with White women in their personal organizations. I attended several meetings in which I served food, facilitated bingo games, and passed out gifts. On two separate occasions, when a White woman guest spoke at the organization, I noticed a significant difference in the manner in which

the African American women engaged each other and the White guest speaker. The African American women were less vocal and less cheerful. They were less willing to respond to interactions and were less forthcoming. They did not want to answer questions about their personal lives and questioned constantly why they needed to fill out forms. The White speaker needed the form only as proof, for her administrative documentation. The African American women, in most instances, refused to fill out the form. On another occasion, a White male speaker attended the meeting and the atmosphere was similar to that of the White female guest speaker. I analyzed the observations as more evidence of the lasting effects of the total institution of Jim Crow.

The guest speakers were organized by a young African American woman who was not from the community. She was a self-appointed leader that would buy food, gifts, set up games, and arranged field trips for the members of the group. It was apparent that the African American women were still mistrustful of Whites' intentions, even when they came to visit their organization to offer medical and economical guidance.

Field Notes

During the research project, I kept field notes that assisted me in examining the physical demeanor of the respondents. I kept notes that reminded me of what happened during the interview. The nonverbal cues that respondents shared were specifically important in determining what they were willing to share and what they didn't want to be revealed on the audio taped interview. Several respondents used body language to imply certain things about their experiences. For example, a nurse spoke with me about her experiences with Whites during Jim Crow. However, she never uttered the words,

"Whites or White people." She would rub her hand to symbolize that she was referencing Whites in her conversation. Some of the respondents asked me to turn off the tape recorder, other respondents asked me to not use the tape recorder at all. Some respondents cried and sobbed during the interview. In my field notes I included the environment of the respondent's homes, if this is where the interview was held. I noted if the rooms were dark, closed up, and who was present during the interview.

Newspaper Articles

One of the limitations of using qualitative research methods is that in some instances respondents are not willing or able to provide you with all the information that you need. I utilized the documentation of historical events in the local and national newspapers. The historically Black newspapers overwhelmingly reported on the experiences of African Americans in the total institution of Jim Crow. Some of the respondents that were interviewed for the project mentioned that there were rapes in their families and in their communities. However, most of the respondents were reluctant to talk about the details of those rapes. The subject of rape is an unquestionably sensitive one; I decided to search newspaper archives to grasp the frequency and the circumstances of rapes during Jim Crow's total institution.

Newspaper Database Archives

I began the search in the newspaper archives to answer the questions: what was the frequency of rapes in the Black community, who in the Black community was getting raped, who was the perpetrators of the rapes, how and when was it reported in the newspaper, what newspaper reported the rapes, what were the details of the rapes, and

how did the law respond to the crime, and what was the frequency and severity of the punishment. I looked in the library databases and found a database for several Southern newspapers; the ProQuest Historical Newspapers Atlanta Constitution (1868-1942). The library database offered a description of the newspaper archives as offering digital reproductions and searchable access to every available issue. The Atlanta paper had an established reputation and one of the only newspapers that survived the Civil War. The ProQuest Historical Baltimore Afro-American (1893-1988); The Baltimore Afro-American (1893-1988) offers full page and article images with searchable full text. The ProQuest Historical Newspapers Chicago Defender (1910 - 1975); the Chicago Defender (1910-1975) offers full page and article images with searchable full text back to the first issue; the ProQuest Historical Newspapers Philadelphia Tribune (1912-2001); Philadelphia Tribune. Each of the collection includes digital reproductions providing access to every page from every available issue.

I initially didn't choose any particular newspaper. I put in the search box the term "White rapist," and several newspaper articles which had the term "White rapist." I was interested in documenting the rapes of Black women by a White perpetuator. I was able to collect nearly 150 documented cases of rape during the total institution of Jim Crow. The newspaper articles that I have included in the dissertation are the ones that had a detailed account of the victim(s), the rapist(s), and the circumstances that led to the rape. I collected over 100 newspaper reports of Black women and young girls being raped. Of the nearly 100 plus rapes an overwhelmingly majority—60%—were young girls under the age of 16; with youngest girl being 5.

The Rape of Married, Pregnant, Relatives, and Elderly Women

A number of the rapes were young religious girls that were not married and some were women who were married. In two instances the grandmother, mother, and granddaughter were all raped, the grandmother was murdered. In two instances sisters were involved in the rapes with one of the sisters ending up in a sanitarium as a result of the trauma. The reporting of the systematic rapes are overwhelmingly underreported or not reported at all in mainstream White newspapers. More importantly, the long term consequences for the victims are never mentioned.

The incidents of rapes in the newspaper don't represent all the rapes that occurred in Black communities. In some instances the rapist was arrested. However, in most instances the White rapist was not indicted, didn't serve prison time, was granted mercy, or submitted a plea of insanity to avoid prosecution and imprisonment.

Rape Trials

I searched Lexis Nexus database and the Westlaw database to find the actual cases for four of the rapes that were mentioned in the newspapers. The rape trials are open to the public. However, the only trials that are online are the ones that were appealed and went to the State Supreme Court. The local rape trials that didn't go to the Supreme Court didn't get appealed are only accessible through the local court houses.

Lynchings

The survivors of Jim Crow recalled numerous lynchings that occurred in their communities. In order to get the full magnitude of the collective experience in Jim Crow's total institution, I include newspaper articles that focus on a few highly

publicized lynchings and the overall frequency in which lynchings occurred. I utilize three books, Lynching and Vigilantism in the United States: An Annotated Bibliography, 100 Years of Lynching, and Legacies of Lynching to supplement the recollections of the survivors.

Data Analysis

Grounded Theory

This research project uses grounded theory to analyze the data (Glaser and Strauss 1967). In addition, Burawoy's extended case method was instrumental in examining the data to find out what the data was revealing about the experiences of African Americans that survived the total institution of Jim Crow. I didn't start out with a hypothesis. I used the extended case method to compare the results with existing theories such as Goffman's total institution to explain the larger context of what African Americans were experienced. As mentioned earlier in the dissertation Goffman recognized that his total institution was not exhaustive.

Extended Case Method

Upon completion of the interviewing, I analyzed the data from the interviews using standard qualitative iterative techniques and the extended case method (Burawoy 1998). Consequently, some of the themes that emerged from the interviews I conducted were "racial etiquette" (social practices), the racial violence that ensued if the "racial etiquette" (social practices) was violated in the eyes of Whites, sexualized violence, the language and symbols, the survival strategies that African Americans adopted during

their lives under the total institution of Jim Crow, psychological and economic consequences, and the intergenerational transferring of the coping strategies.

I collected data on what elderly African Americans actually lived through in their everyday lives. I collected accounts of painful encounters with Whites, which took place in public frontstage and private backspaces throughout the years of Jim Crow's total institution. According to Burawoy, "The extended case method looks for specific macro determination[s] in the micro world . . . it seeks generalization through reconstructing existing generalization, that is, the reconstruction of existing theory" (1998: 27). The elderly African Americans, who participated in this research project, cleared up numerous misconceptions and contradictions in the historical representation of the everyday practices of African Americans and their White oppressors during Jim Crow's total institution (Burawoy 1998:5).

The power of oral history is undeniable. I went into this research project not fully appreciating personally the history of older African Americans. Because of the narrative aspect of this project, I realized the resilience and fortitude of elderly African Americans. What is often forgotten and difficult to grasp is the total picture, which must include the voice of the survivors. The strength of the African American families can be realized when examined against the backdrop of a history of hopelessness, deprivation, and lack of opportunity, coupled with the racial violence. A powerful message is being shared in the personal narratives. The power of a person's voice coupled with written history gives a holistic perspective. To understand fully the experiences of a time that occurred over 50 years ago, this is necessary.

To situate the everyday lives of elderly African Americans in its historical context, I utilized participant observation (Burawoy 1998: 4). This approach allowed me to go beyond the notion of Jim Crow's total institution as just an era in which African Americans were restricted from eating at lunch counters, were limited to drinking out of separate water fountains, and were forced to go in the back door. I was able, through the narratives, to see the everyday events that occurred in the lives of African Americans. I connected the experiences with the larger contexts of racism and delved into it beyond the usual boundaries (Burawoy 1998:6).

Limitations of the Study

The limitations of the study would be that I didn't specifically ask the respondents about their stress, long term psychological consequences, or whether they had trouble sleeping and the stress scale to determine specific symptoms. Also, as I mentioned in my explanation of why I used newspaper articles, the African American survivors of Jim Crow were not totally open about some of the more painful things that they experienced. The survivors, in some instances, used nonverbal communication to describe their experiences. In the research project, I didn't get the respondents to reveal some of the more detailed examples of their experiences. An important aspect of qualitative research projects when the issues are so sensitive is to try and get the respondents to reveal more about their experiences using a third person narrative. In the interviews, there were some respondents who would say, "it happened to their family too," "it was not just in my family," and "it didn't happen to me but I heard about it." I think that using vignettes and

third person narrative might have assisted me in getting the respondents to reveal more about their experiences.

Another limitation is that I didn't utilize well-known public events to help respondents to recall similar occurrences in their communities. For example, I didn't' mention specifically, the assassination of Martin Luther King, the killing of Emmett Till, the Killing of Four Little Girls, and the Civil Rights Movements. I think mentioning these well publicized events would have assisted the respondents in recalling events that were similar to this that happened in their own communities.

Summary

In this chapter, I have provided the methods that I utilized in this research project. I have provided you with the reasoning of why I did the things that I did to come up with the data for this project. I described the research design for collecting the data. I included that I used a snowball sample. I detailed how I got access into the African American community. I described my data analysis, focusing on grounded theory and extended case methods. Then, I described the reasons why I decided to utilize newspaper articles and how it gave a more detailed recollection of the more sensitive issue of rape in Jim Crow's total institution.

CHAPTER IV

RACISM AND TRAUMA: THE COLLECTIVE EXPERIENCE

. . . .Richard Wright describes the terrible climate of fear: The things that influenced my conduct as a Negro did not have to happen to me directly; I needed but to hear of them to feel their full effects in the deepest layers of my consciousness. Indeed, the White brutality that I had not seen was more effective control of my behavior than that which I knew. The actual experience would have let me see the realistic outlines of what was really happening, but as long as it remained something terrible and yet remote, something whose horror and blood might descend upon me at any moment, I was compelled to give my entire imagination over to it. (cited in Chafe 1977:60)

The History

Recent studies on the mental health status of African Americans reveal astonishing information. In 2007, the National Institute of Mental Health reported that African Americans are less depressed than Whites, on average, however their depression is more chronic and severe (NIMH 2007). Harriet Washington (2006), "Mental ailment are destroying Blacks, as well: Black women suffer the highest rates of stress and major depression in the nation and suicide rates soared 200 percent among young Black men within just twenty years" (2006:4-5). In 2001, the Surgeon General's report, "Mental Health: Culture, Race, and Ethnicity," found extensive disparity; African Americans are less likely to seek and receive professional mental health assistance. There are several reasons the report documented for African Americans lack of access to mental health services; lack of insurance, poverty, and geographical location of facilities (USDHHS 2001).

However, the (USDHHS 2001) report shed light on the reality that even controlling for socio-economic status and insurance, African Americans are still reluctant to seek

mental heath treatment. The literature shows that the history of racism, discrimination, and cultural mistrust are some of the key proponents to explaining why African Americans chose not to seek assistance for their mental health problems (Whaley 2001; Carter 2007).

Racism and discrimination in Jim Crow's total institution prevented African Americans from seeking and acquiring mental health care (Feagin 2006). In the total institution of Jim Crow, "There was almost no accommodation for the diagnosis and mental health treatment. Blacks were typically barred from mental hospitals, and those too deranged to work were dumped into almshouses or jails" (Washington 2006:149). There are others barrier that contribute to the disparity in treating African Americans with mental health problems, including financial barriers, racism and discrimination, and cultural mental illness stigma. In addition, the USDHHS (2001) research report has found evidence of other barriers based on, "Clinicians' lack of awareness of cultural issues, bias, or inability to speak the clients' language and the clients' fear and mistrust of treatment" (2001: 4). According to Barbee (1992) elderly African Americans have higher risk of depression, as they age, and they too are less likely to seek mental health care professionals to assist in their psychological well-being (Barbee 1992).

Racism and Mental Health Impacts Physical Health

Studies show that the stress associated with racism negatively affects the mental health of African Americans (Williams and Williams-Morris, 2000; Carter 2007). According to Carter, (2007), "racial stressors have been found, in a variety of studies to produce physical outcomes such as high blood pressure, risk for heart disease, and

increased vulnerability to a variety of negative health outcomes" (2007:58). According to the Center for Disease Control (2000), heart disease is the leading cause of death for African Americans. Nearly one-third of African American men and practically one-half of African American women will lose their lives because of heart disease. In the African American community there is an overwhelming percentage of individuals suffering with high blood pressure. The percentage in the African American community is higher than any other part of developed and undeveloped countries in the world (CDC 2000).

Research has shown that African Americans suffer everyday with racism and stress (Pearlin, 1999; Carter, 2007; Williams and Williams-Morris, 2000; Clark, et al., 1999) and in some instances Pearlin (1999), states that this social stress "is not about unusual people doing unusual things and having unusual experiences it is the everyday stress of it all that is so overwhelming" (1999:396). According to Pearlin (1999), stress and the accumulation of stress can be a long ongoing process. This accumulation of stress on African Americans coupled with the stress of racism and perceived racism continues to have a negative affect on their mental psychological well-being (Williams et al. 1997; Clark et al. 1999; Carter, 2007). African Americans suffered with diminished psychological well-being from the ongoing battles with racism and discrimination.

However, when they seek assistance with mental health professionals they are sometimes met with more psychological distress. According to Nelson (2006), "Critical psychology reveals that individuals who perceive racism experience measurable psychological distress. The experience of racism, as abuse, like other stressful life events, produces measurable reports of subjective, yet diagnosable, distress" (2006:

134). These studies document the negative health consequences of racism and the stress associated with it. According to Schneider et al. (2000) who found that over nearly half of ethnic minorities reported some type of racial incident, this contributes to the negative mental well-being of the individuals who experienced it (Schneider et al., 2000). Bryant-Davis and Ocampo (2005) report on the findings of the Surgeon General:

> The Surgeon General's report (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2001) states that racial and ethnic minorities have less access to mental health services, receive poorer quality mental health care, and are underrepresented in mental health research compared to European Americans. . . .a pattern of obstacles to well-being exists that can easily be interpreted as the product of racism, and this reasonable perception may be more important than objective judgments in the development of psychic distress among minorities (2001:482).

Some scholars like Aneshensel (1992) have made distinctions between random and systemic stressors. Pearlin (1999) found that racism can be a form of systematic chronic stress, the type that can be shown to likely "emerge more insidiously and be more persistent" (1999:400). African Americans deal with the daily stress that is associated with living their lives, in an oppressive environment; however, the racism they experienced is in many instances "unscheduled." Consequently, Pearlin (1999) has found that these frequent "unscheduled" daily events of "serious stressors usually generate additional stressors, a phenomenon referred to as "stress proliferation" (1999:166). According to Pearlin (1999), the process of stress has three components, "stressors, moderators, and outcomes" (1999: 161).

Woodard (2001) found that experiences of racism are significantly associated with increased psychiatric and physical symptoms in African Americans; I build upon this literature. Does racism help to explain the disparity in the physical and mental health of

African Americans? Do racism, stress, and the subsequent experiences contribute to strokes, high blood pressure, and other diseases that are pervasive for elderly African Americans in these communities? Understanding the long-lasting effects of racism and stress can give society an idea of how to treat African Americans who are suffering with the consequences associated with racism and discrimination.

Measuring Racism and Trauma in African Americans

Bryant-Davis and Ocampo (2005) give a more extensive overview of the problems and implications for counseling, research, and the education of mental health professionals. They laid the foundation for accessing how to address the problems of racism and "racist-incident-based trauma." They offered solutions in terms of revamping the DSM IV. They addressed the issue of how and when mental health problems are not defined in the proper manner it becomes problematic for the patient and the therapist. They offered some insight into how the victims of racist incidents sometimes begin to question their own ability to access what has just happened to them. They give recommendations to health care providers on how they can be more sensitive to the issue of racism and how it negatively affects the lives of their patients. Utsey (1998) focuses on the instrumentation that is utilized to assess the psychological damage that racism can do. He examines six instruments that have been historically utilized by researchers. Utsey argues there are problems with the scales. However, the scales have made an unmistakable contribution to the study of racism.

The Historical Collective Experience

In the Williams and Williams -Morris (2000) article, the researchers give an overall assessment of how racism has negatively influenced the physical and psychological well-being of African Americans in the United States historically. These researchers look at how the economic, negative cultural stereotypes and negative racial beliefs about African Americans are engrained in the institutions of society. They look at how society contributes to the negative views that everyday individuals, including mental health professionals have about African Americans. They examine how when society views particular groups negatively the individuals internalize this view. The individuals then begin to evaluate themselves negatively. This can have a negative impact on the psychological well-being of entire ethnic groups.

Carter (2007) provided a thorough framework to examine how racism causes psychological and emotional injury to African Americans. He focused on the definition of the terms race, racism, and stress. Carter (2007) then evaluates the literature on how racism and trauma are connected to Posttraumatic Stress Disorder and he evaluated the DSM IV and stress models that are utilized to evaluate the mental health of individuals. The article gave a careful examination of the research on traumatic stress and discrimination. Carter (2007) offered several ways in which the training of mental health professions could have a positive outcome for African Americans when they are seeking help in mental health facilities. However, for this dissertation I am interested in the collective experience of African Americans and the physical and psychological consequences of living in the total institution of Jim Crow.

The Collective Experience

The collective experience of dealing with racial violence as a community helped in framing the experiences of African Americans in Jim Crow's total institution. The Native Americans describe the collective experiences:

> A symptom is understood as a manifestation of malaadaptive social patterns, (for example, domestic violence, sexual abuse, interpersonal maladjustment). Symptoms are not caused by the trauma itself; the historic trauma disrupts adaptive social and cultural patterns and transforms them into maladaptive ones that manifest themselves in symptoms. In short, historic trauma causes deep breakdowns in social functioning that may last for many years, decades, or even generations. The clusters of symptoms associate with the specific disorders that manifest themselves as a result of historic trauma may be passed to next generations in a form of socially learned behavioral patterns. In a sense, symptoms that parents exhibit (family violence, sexual abuse) act as a trauma and disrupt adaptive social adjustments in their children. In turn, these children internalize these symptoms and, not to trivialize, catch a 'trauma virus' and fall ill to one of the social disorders. In the next generation, the process perpetuates itself. In this sense, White Hat (The Circle 2001) was correct in stating the trauma continues: the trauma, understood as a relentless causal agent (White Hat 2001:150)

The symptoms associated with the specific disorder that manifest as a result of the historic discrimination and trauma are passed to the next generations in the form of socially learned behavioral patterns. According to Durkheim, who focused on the macro aspects of social interaction and society, religion was one of the more important aspects of social life that bound individuals together as a collective. Durkheim referred to it as a collective consciousness, "the body of beliefs common to a community or society that gives people a sense of belonging" (Andersen and Taylor 2009:335).

The Collective Memory

Eyerman (2001) defines a collective memory as, "the combined discourses of self: sexual, racial, historical, regional, ethnic, cultural, national, familial, which intersect in an individual. These form a net of language, a meta narrative, which a community shares and within which individuals biographies are oriented" (2001:7) One African American philosopher Laurence Thomas suggests, "African Americans have perhaps not articulated the psychological pain they face as well as some other groups" (Feagin and McKinney 2003:42). Indeed, the psychological damage and pain wrought upon African Americans lives because of the total institution of slavery and Jim Crow, coupled with de facto segregation is severely underestimated.

Feagin and Sikes states, "In racial and ethnic struggles across the globe one sees the central role of collective memory in the maintenance and development of group pride and community solidarity. This collective memory includes a central recognition of the history of African Americans and of the scale of the continuing struggle against White racism" (1994: 348). Throughout the interviews the respondents constantly referred to individuals who lived through the total institution of Jim Crow as "we", "us", Black people, our women, our men, our girls, and other indications that the respondents are talking about the collective. This implies a collective group experience. Segregation stress syndrome is not based on the individual it's the collective experience. The experience of living with racism and discrimination coupled with knowing that you have the stigma of race dictates your experiences and it has consequences.

A respondent in the Southeast talks about the collective experiences of living in the total institution of Jim Crow:

> Well sometime if they ask me questions, I will share it with them. . .it's tough and it hasn't been easy on a lot of people. . . people will tell you things that happened to them. . . some things that they [Whites] did you know it was wrong. . . .but you couldn't say anything about it. . . when you got in trouble when you tried to speak up for something that you thought was right. . .your voice is not being heard. . . . you can start some violence by expressing too much, when you don't got no voice. That's how I feel about it. . . .making it harder on yourself because you know you don't have no voice and if you tried to take it court, or whatever, or go see a lawyer, well you still going to their color so you still, you. . . .you can't win the battle. . . .You raise some kids that is quick tempered. . .they say "I just ain't going to do this, today" and " I ain't going to do that. "But you can't say what you ain't going to do, you can't do that. [She begins to cry]. I know that we have the Black race people and you know they had a hard time. . . . [Cries harder]. I've been around them [Whites] all my life. . . .I know that they still didn't care for me. . . . You see things you don't like; you know you can't do nothing about it. . . .You can't just tell them, let them know that you, you are a human too. . . .I would like to have respect too because you are Black does not mean, you need to be treated like your are not nobody. [Pauses] And you find some and they just as good as gold, I mean they just as good as a Black is towards you. Just like you another one, just a human being. That's all you want, that's all I would want. I don't care about them, they don't have to hug and kiss me. Just treat me nice, that's all I ask, you know. Some people have a short temper and if things don't go just like they want to well they flies all off the handle and a bunch of cussing and stuff like that.

The respondent shares how the collective "Black people" had it hard. She is exhibiting one of the symptoms of segregation stress syndrome, crying as she recalls how hard it was in the total institution of Jim Crow; knowing that you are despised and hated because of the color of your skin. Sharon Wasco (2003) describes insidious trauma as, "the devaluing of an individual's social status because of a characteristic of their identity (e.g. gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, physical ability). Insidious trauma may start as early as birth, in some cases, and may persist throughout a lifetime" (2003: 315).

Indeed in the total institution of Jim Crow you had an entire group of people who experienced collective insidious trauma, they were devalued because of the color of their skin.

Collective Symbols of Trauma

Another aspect of the collective experience of survivors is the symbols and/or sites of oppression and historical trauma that are avoided with disdain many years after the experiences. For example, water foundations, buses, particular stores, lynching symbols, and particular social institutions. The collective lynching of Black men and women in the total institution of Jim Crow is one of the collective traumatic events that occurred. To paraphrase one of the respondents, "you could ride through a Black community during any given day and see a Black man hanging from a tree." There were literally thousands of lynchings that took place in the south (Ginzburg 1962; Allen, Lewis, Litwack, and Als. 2005; Dray 2003).

The Lynching Tree: "Lynch Hammock" and "The Hanging Tree"

Markovitz (2004) argues that the lynchings of men, women, and children during the total institutions of slavery and Jim Crow have become "a metaphor for race and racism" (2004: xx). The collective lynchings are, "a way of seeing and understanding contemporary race relations and racial spectacles. Collective memories of lynching can be invoked even when lynching is not explicitly mentioned. . . .Collective memories of lynchings therefore played a central role in structuring the ways in which various audiences understood these stories" (2004: xx-xxi).

Maurice Halbwachs (1992) maintains that there is a difference between collective and personal memory, "personal memory . . . refers to shared understandings of the past [and] collective memory is broader and more durable than personal memory" (1992: xxi). Indeed, several scholars including Marita Sturken who argued that, "a narrative . . .has in some way been sanctioned and valorized, and what she calls cultural memory," which is "a field that represents memory shared in some form, yet not officially sanctioned memory" (1992: xxi). Barbie Zelizer, maintains, that it depends on who is distinguishing between personal and collective memories. In the total institution of Jim Crow elderly African Americans frequently referred to the lynching trees that were used by White mobs to lynch Black men, women, and children as Lynch Hammock. We see how one of the elderly respondent's recalls the place where African Americans were frequently lynched from as Lynch Hammock:

> The Ku Klux Klan. . . .If you had sons, you were just frightened. . .People were hung right here. . . . It was a place called Lynch Hammock. They would take people out and lynch them. They would take those kids out and you would find a Black body hanging any day. Any time. People were frightened. There was nothing they could do. If you talked too much then the younger Black would go and, you know, tell on the others. It was terrible. . . .In order to keep a lot of confusion down and sleep well at night and try to protect their boys, and protect their girls, they just had to accept it and be quiet about it. That's the way it was. People were afraid. People were afraid. If you had a few who weren't, you had no backup. . . .It was bad, but it was something that you grew up with.

The collective experience included not just the lynching tress, it included the burning down of houses, churches, and Black owned businesses in the total institution of Jim Crow. The collective experience included the daily insults, humiliations, and threats the

lives of African Americans. A respondent in the Southwest remembers, "The Hanging Tree:"

> They had a tree they called it "The Hanging Tree," a man was hung on there, but that was way before my time, so I don't know. The tree is still there. If you go to [names place] now they'll show you where "The Hanging Tree" is. They just keep it as a memory I guess. [What was the reason for the man getting hung?] Segregation. At that time I didn't know the reason why, but uh, I guess because they seen, he did something that he wasn't suppose to do, and they hung him. And he got the word; they got the word "Hanging Tree."

The respondent mentions the lynching tree and how in the total institution of Jim Crow you would find people that had been lynched. It was an everyday occurrence for African Americans.

Public Buses: "Blacks Move to the Back"

A respondent in the Southeast remembers riding the buses in the total institution of Jim Crow. Several African Americans mentioned based on their experiences in the total institution of Jim Crow; they hate to ride buses today. The long term consequences of stress and trauma from riding the bus are apparent:

> I do that because I was never comfortable in the back, I was comfortable in the front. I will sit in the driver's seat if I have to (I laugh). I just came back from England in the summer and baby I tell you that was a hard trip for me. I am not going to sit on the back of no bus. You're right near the toilet, the ride is rough, and I hate buses. To this day I hate buses because that was our place. To this day I hate buses. You can hardly get me on a bus. And the only reason that I rode on the buses in England was because we were not familiar and driving on the wrong side of the rode and for me to rent a car I would just have been kind of lost and so we took the tour, we took the buses, instead trying to rent a car. I had a car rented but we still couldn't do nothing to it. And I didn't, but I don't like bus rides. . . .When you can't go to the store into a café, and you can't go into the front you have to go in the back. You know about it. You know about it but still, it really bothered me.

One aspect of segregation stress syndrome is the avoidance of the symbols that remind you of the traumatic experiences. There are African Americans as a collective that have been undiagnosed and are unknowingly suffering from segregation stress syndrome.

Traumatic Racial Events

The traumatic event that occurs for individuals and results in posttraumatic stress syndrome is different than the traumatic racial event that occurs in the total institution of Jim Crow. The difference is that it impacts the collective racial group. There are several dimensions to a traumatic racial event:

> (1) the traumatic racial event involves one of the trauma events described in the traumatic event definition however, it includes a racial component to it; (2) the traumatic racial event plays out in a form of ritual, it is something that has occurred several times and becomes ritualized; [lynchings, rapes, coercion, humiliation, and other aspects] (3) the traumatic racial event is a part of a larger institutional setting that supports and legitimizes the racial event; (4) the traumatic racial event can take place in the frontstage or the backstage, involves a performer and an audience; and takes place in a stage setting (Goffman 1959:15).

I build on the work of (Goffman (1959); see also Houts-Picca and Feagin 2007). The traumatic racial events that occur in the everyday lives of African Americans have affected them in long lasting ways.

Traumatic Stress: Historical Traumas

The experiences of African Americans in the total institution of Jim Crow were riddled with physical, emotional, and sexual violence. Some traumas have been defined by scholars as historical trauma. Evans-Campbell, Lincoln, and Takeuchi (2007) argue that the study of race and mental health have ignored three important issues that need to

be addressed when addressing the mental health issues of minorities. Campbell, Lincoln, and Takeuchi argue,

> We identify three critical gaps or issues in the literature in the study of race and mental health: (1) the omission of analyses of historical events that shape race relations, and specifically the intergenerational transmission of past traumas; (2) the assumption that social psychological processes are similar across racial groups; and (3) the inclusion of geographic contexts in understanding race and mental health (2007:7).

Indeed, historical trauma is an important aspect of the total institution of Jim Crow. The literature has not connected African Americans and historical trauma. The African Americans who lived in the total institution of Jim Crow were the possible children and grandchildren of former slaves who also lived in a total institution. The atrocities of slavery continued for African Americans in the total institution of Jim Crow. Campbell, Lincoln, and Takeuchi mention in the literature that there is an intergenerational transmission of trauma. The African Americans who lived in the total institution of Jim Crow experienced their own trauma coupled with the intergenerational trauma that might have been passed on to them by their parents and grandparents.

Campbell, Lincoln, and Takeuchi (2007) define historical trauma as a trauma that has been collectively experienced by a group over many generations and is passed on from generation to generation. Scholars Simon and Eppert (2005) argue,

> Traumatic historical events share two important characteristics: they are human-initiated and they evoke particular behavioral dynamics. Most notably, they elicit a need to simultaneously remember and forget. . . .These events may target communities or families directly, as in the internment or slavery, [or in the total institution of Jim Crow], or indirectly when aimed at the environment in which people live (2005: 8).

Simon and Eppert mention slavery in their analysis of individuals that may have experienced this type of historical trauma. However, few scholars in society focus on the trauma from the total institution of slavery and neglect the atrocities of Jim Crow. This is a key aspect of what Simon and Eppert are stating in their historical trauma theory. Individuals who lived in the total institution of Jim Crow have been silent about their experience; they concealed the experiences to protect their families.

Campbell, Lincoln, and Takeuchi, (2007) mention that there are two levels of historical trauma; communal and interpersonal. They argue,

> Communal level impacts may also include second-order effects related to traumatic events. . . .The secondary effects of that event can actually amplify with each generation making historical trauma, as a type of trauma, particularly devastating and critical to understand. . . .Individual level [trauma is linked to] intergenerational transmission can occur through direct and indirect means. In the case of direct transmission, children may hear stories about events experienced by their parents or grandparents. . . .Indirect transmission, traumatic events may lead to poor parenting styles which . . .may increase stress in children (2007: 9-10).

The stress of the past; coupled with the stress of the total institution of Jim Crow highlights the chronic stress that many African Americans have lived with in their lifetime. It is not uncommon, based on the literature, for the children of the survivors of the total institution of Jim Crow to experience higher levels of stress based upon the historical trauma from other oppressive times in the history of African Americans and their descendants. Campbell, Lincoln, and Takeuchi (2007) state that individuals who live through these traumatic events can suffer from survivor guilt, alienation; have problems with trusting individuals, and feelings of low self-esteem. They argue,

> In the U.S., acknowledgements of traumatic assaults perpetrated on cultural and ethnic groups are limited and, not surprisingly, people from

> historically oppressed communities routinely encounter societal reactions such as indifference, disbelief, and avoidance. While there is little discussion in the literature regarding societal reactions to historically traumatic assaults in the U.S., it seems likely that many people are impacted by the tendency to ignore their painful histories (2007: 12-13).

Indeed, the historical experience of African Americans in the U.S. has been dismissed by the larger society and fallen on deaf ears. Individuals that survived the total institution of Jim Crow and the Whites who participated in the racial and sexualized violence have not talked about the experiences on a large societal scale. There has been some documentation of the events that occurred, in the daily routines of Jim Crow. However, many of the elderly individuals were not willing to share certain events and some mentioned that they hadn't talked about the events with their families. Some adults, who were children during the total institution of Jim Crow, are now able to understand things they witnessed in their childhood. They understand why they have brothers and sisters that were biracial with blond hair and blue eyes. They understand why their fathers, in some instances, left their mother when she was pregnant or just delivered a baby that could not have been the biological child of two dark-skinned parents. The historical trauma is an important framework to explore when examining the stress, mental well-being, and the long lasting impact of living in the total institution of Jim Crow.

Collective Traumatic Racial Events

In the posttraumatic stress syndrome literature the emphasis is on the individual experience. However, the emphasis of segregation stress syndrome is on the collective experience. The collective Black community has been exposed to multiple racial traumatic events in the total institution of Jim Crow. As a collective community they

have witnessed, heard, or experienced events that involve actual or threatened physical serious injury or death, or involves a threat to a person's integrity. For the dissertation I define community as individuals who belong to the same social family unit, physical community, racial community, and/or ethnic group. For African Americans a traumatic racial event included witnessing Whites commit bodily harm against you and/or members in your group. For example, a racial traumatic event is when the KKK marched through the Black community with the intentions of causing bodily harm. A traumatic racial event was witnessing churches and entire communities, places that were considered safe spaces, being burned to the ground.

Traumatic Event and Posttraumatic Stress Syndrome

Ronald Kessler and Shanyang Zhao (1999) state that little research has been done on the kinds of trauma that are most likely to lead to symptoms of PTSD. Their preliminary findings indicate that *experiencing* the trauma of rape, sexual molestation, and combat exposure and *witnessing* someone being *badly injured or killed* as high predictors of PTSD (Kessler and Zhao 1999; Amir and Sol 1999; Horowitz et al. 2001). The number of traumatic events occurs differently based on gender. According to Kessler and Zhao (1999), "men are more likely to experience at least one trauma overall, women are more likely to experience trauma associated with high probability of PTSD" (1999: 74). Other researchers have found that African American men had the highest rate of trauma that led to posttraumatic stress disorder. Indeed, African Americans in the total institution of Jim Crow experienced multiple traumas associated with the development of PTSD symptoms; rape, lynching, sexual assault, killings, and combat like conditions.

In the literature scholar, Wasco (2003) critiques PTSD diagnosis scales. Wasco (2003) states,

> [The] effects of trauma characterized by a shattered assumptions trauma model overlook the various ways that gender, race, ability, and class form victims' worldviews, experiences of trauma, and manifestations of hurt. For these reasons, practitioners and researchers who work with rape survivors must continue to assess reactions to rape besides intrusion, hyperarousal, and avoidance (2003: 313).

Indeed, African Americans, as a collective, in the total institution of Jim Crow experienced multiple traumas, including rape, associated with the development of the symptoms of segregation stress syndrome. Exposure to trauma at an early age is a high predictor of a life long struggle with depression, especially for women (Thoits 1983). Witnessing, experiencing, and/or hearing about a traumatic event could lead to posttraumatic stress syndrome (van der Kolk, McFarlane, and Weisaeth 2006). "What distinguishes people who develop PTSD from people who are merely temporarily stressed is that they start organizing their lives around the trauma" (van der Kolk, McFarlane, and Weisaeth 2006:6). Elderly African Americans organized their lives around the traumatic events that occurred in the total institution of Jim Crow, even today. For example, African Americans organizing their lives around their trauma are not riding buses, not drinking out of water fountains, not shopping in certain stores, not trusting Whites and fearing Whites are all symptoms of segregation stress syndrome and consequences of trauma.

The traumatic racial events include witnessing, hearing about, or experiencing a lynching, a rape, churches or houses being burned down, a person's life being threatened, Ku Klux Klan rallies and parades, physical and verbal assaults, and an

accusation that leads to false imprisonment, and imprisonment. Any form of racial violence that leads to physical harm to an individual, family, friends, neighbors, and a person in the individuals' racial group can result in symptoms of segregation stress syndrome.

The Collective Trauma of Rape

The trauma of rape is particularly difficult for the survivors and their families to overcome. According to Sharon Wasco (2003), "research suggests that rape is a major public health issue, as sexual violence has been related to problems across almost all body systems (e.g., gastrointestinal, cardiopulmonary) as well as negative sexuality issues among survivors" (2003: 317). Indeed, the consequences of rape for the African American community include physical consequences that are included in much of the literature. Wasco (2003), goes on to state that rape is a process, "a broad understanding of the 'process' of rape would include victims' strategies to survive the assault, their strategies (e.g., coping, disclosure, and help-seeking) to negotiate their postassault experience and society's responses to the assault, which often absolve the perpetrator of blame" (2003: 312). Throughout the total institution of Jim Crow individuals and society as a whole blamed the African American women for their rapes. In many instances, an aspect of the White racial frame included the notion that African American women were promiscuous and lacked moral values.

Research indicates nearly 94% of women who are raped meet PTSD requirements shortly after the rape (Foa, Rothbaum, Riggs, & Murdock 1991). The probability that African American women and girls who were raped in the total institution of Jim Crow

are suffering from symptoms similar to PTSD, which for the collective is segregation stress syndrome is highly probable.

Segregation Stress Syndrome

The Similarities

Segregation stress syndrome is similar to posttraumatic stress syndrome in that it is the result of trauma and cumulative stress; it can lead to long term psychological and physical consequences. However, not everyone that witnessed, experienced, or heard about a traumatic event will develop its symptoms. Segregation stress syndrome is similar to posttraumatic syndrome in that it has an intergenerational aspect to it which is documented in the literature of Holocaust survivors. Segregation stress syndrome is similar to posttraumatic stress syndrome in that there is an effort for individuals to avoid the places, people, symbols, and activities that remind them of the trauma.

The Differences

However, segregation stress syndrome differs from PTSD in that it focuses on the macro experience and not just the micro experience. The literature on PTSD focuses on the individual experiences to a traumatic event. Segregation stress syndrome focuses on the macro experiences to cumulative traumatic events. Segregation stress syndrome differs from PTSD in that the traumas [rape, racial and sexual violence, lynchings, KKK attacks, and killings] occurred in the communities and country in which African Americans live and thus is possibly more detrimental because the traumatic experience was not a one-time occurrence; it was sustained, over time, in African American communities and has a communal legacy. In the total institution of Jim Crow African

Americans dealt daily with the stress of negotiating public White spaces, thus creating collective stress and stressors. Amir and Sol (1999) state, "being exposed to one type of traumatic event was associated with increased psychological distress, but being exposed to multiple types of traumatic events was associated with lowering of distress" (1999: 139).

Indeed, the multiple traumas can leave a community with a lowering of distress, which might explain African Americans ability to be traumatized yet still able to function. Segregation stress syndrome differs from PTSD in that the trauma was historical and collective. The trauma was experienced by African Americans as a collective group. The consequences of witnessing, hearing about or experiencing the traumatic event led to segregation stress syndrome. The added stressor for African Americans was that the traumatic racial event was sanctioned and legitimized by local and state institutions such as the legal systems; the law, police, judges, and the courts.

In this dissertation, I will apply the symptoms of PTSD differently for segregation stress syndrome because of the historical and collective nature of the racial traumatic events. The racial traumatic experiences are systemic and cumulative. Although several of my respondents were exposed to similar types of stressors and trauma racial events not all individuals, including the respondents in this research project, respond in the same manner (Pearlin 1999).). According to Pennebaker, Paez, and Rim (1997), "Because of the normative nature of collective memory aimed at defending social identity, a common response to a traumatic past event is silence and inhibition" (1997:161). Elderly African Americans coped in various ways and differed in their

resilience; they learned to cope with the systemic chronic stress and they learned how to relieve some of their distress.

The Risk Factors

The African American survivors of the total institution of Jim Crow are at risk. The children and grandchildren of former slaves because they are especially susceptible and predisposed to the intergenerational transmission of trauma an aspect of segregation stress syndrome are at risk. This applies to the children and grandchildren of survivors of the total institution of Jim Crow, too. Indeed, for too long African Americans have not been given the freedom to define their experiences in this country as survivors. As mentioned earlier in the dissertation, the symptoms of segregation stress syndrome is the chronic, enduring, extremely painful responses to the total institution of Jim Crow which includes physical reactions such as sweating and avoidance of events that remind them of the initial trauma that occurred sometimes when they were very young. As mentioned earlier, "a symptom is understood as a manifestation of malaadaptive social patterns, (for example, domestic violence, sexual abuse, interpersonal maladjustment. Symptoms are not caused by the trauma itself; the historic trauma disrupts adaptive social and cultural patterns and transforms them into maladaptive ones that manifest themselves in symptoms" (White Hat 2001:65). A young woman in her 60's living in the Southwest describes her experiences working in the house of Whites:

> When I was trying to go to college and I was trying to work in the summer because we weren't rich by any means. We didn't even know what a loan or a grant was. And I was trying to work and go to school and I worked in private homes and my first bad encounter that really bothered me was when I would go to these homes to work. I was good enough to go into these homes, keep the babies, clean the home, wash and iron the

> clothes, but I was never good enough to sit at the tables with them and eat and that always bothered me.

African Americans understood the contradictions of living in the total institution of Jim Crow. I can care for your children, suckle them, feed them, and do everything else yet, I am not equal. Indeed, the reality of the contradictions created a stressful experience for African Americans. In addition, for women the only work that they were allowed to do in the total institution of Jim Crow was domestic work. Unfortunately, this type of work didn't offer them economic stability in their old age, no social security, and no health benefits. The primary causes of segregation stress syndrome are the historical collective traumas. Segregation stress syndrome encompasses several symptoms resulting from historical trauma similar to the symptoms defined by Native Americans; there is this "unresolved grief, anger, rage, loss of trust, loss of respect, and early death" (Whitbeck et al. 2004:121). African Americans experiences are similar to Native Americans because they, too, were forbidden to speak their native language, practice their ancestral religion, and were separated from their families.

According to Whitbeck et al. (2004), the differences between the experiences of Jewish people in Germany and African Americans are that the losses for African Americans are ongoing and impact contemporary issues (Whitbeck et al). The historical scale utilized by Native Americans to determine the historical loss scale, "included loss of land, language, traditional spiritual ways, loss of family ties, loss of self respect, loss of trust in Whites, loss of culture, loss of respect by children and family, loss of people from early death, and loss of respect by our children" (Whitbeck et al. 2004: 124).

Whitbeck et al. (2004) argue that some of the emotional responses to the losses are, "sadness or depression, anger, anxiety or nervousness, uncomfortable around Whites, shame when you think of the losses, loss of concentration, feelings of isolation and loss of sleep, rage, anger, fearful or distrusting the intentions of White people, feel like it is happening again, feel like avoiding places or people that remind you of these losses" (Whitbeck et al. 2004: 125).

Indeed, segregation stress syndrome includes the feeling of sadness or depression, anger, anxiety or nervousness at the thoughts of the loss, being uncomfortable around Whites, not trusting Whites, shame when you think of the losses that you have suffered as a people, feelings of isolation, and feeling that others don't understand and refuse to acknowledge the magnitude of your loss, feelings that things are continuing and happening again, avoiding the places or people that remind you of the losses that you have suffered historically, denying the horrible things that have happened, and feelings that the men and adults in your life are unable to protect you from the horrible things happening.

Segregation Stress Syndrome: The Cumulative Loss of Psychological Well-Being

I have suggested that the resulting "segregation stress syndrome" has a historical trauma aspect to it. The racial violence that occurred in the total institution of Jim Crow was a form of systematic chronic stress, the type that has been shown to emerge and be more "insidiously and persistent" (Pearlin 1999: 400). The trauma that African Americans experience in the total institution of Jim Crow was cumulative. As stated earlier, the total institution of Jim Crow began in 1896 and was outlawed in 1963 but the

practices didn't end until the early 1970's. The total institution of Jim Crow was preceded by Black Codes, which were similar to the laws of slavery. African Americans lived under extreme oppressive for nearly 400 years. The elderly African Americans who survived Jim Crow were the children and grandchildren of enslaved African Americans. Scholars argue that African Americans have learned coping skills that have been passed down through generations. The coping skills were passed down intergenerationally similar to the collective and historical trauma. The collective and historical trauma is cumulative. I have argued that African Americans are predisposed to segregation stress syndrome because of the trauma that are ancestors experienced during the era of slavery, Black codes, and Jim Crow. Collectively, African Americans have a predisposition because of our families' history of trauma.

Segregation Stress Syndrome: The Long Term Consequences

Some of the long term contemporary consequences of trauma for African Americans are consciously or unconsciously avoiding public places and sites where the trauma occurred. For example, several respondents mentioned that they don't ride the bus, don't drink out of water fountains, and shop at particular stores because of the experiences and trauma in Jim Crow's total institution. In addition there are many places in many southern and northern towns where you have lynching trees being celebrated as national treasures. This celebration and "perceived" sacredness of lynching trees was a the center of the Jasper Case where three White boys were fighting because they several young African American boys were sitting under one of these lynching trees. The trees are ritualized and sacred to the White collective experiences because this is the site where

Blacks were lynched in Jim Crows total institution. We can identify these trees in the south and north as “Lynching Trees.”

Segregation Stress Syndrome: Intergenerational

I maintain that “segregation stress syndrome” has an intergenerational aspect to it that predisposes some younger African Americans to psychological damage, stress, and trauma even though contemporary forms of racial violence appear to be covert and seemingly less damaging than the violence that occurred in the total institution of Jim Crow is a reality. Research shows that racist incidents (violence) are potentially traumatizing forms of victimization that affect ethnic minority children and adults (Sanchez-Hucles 1998; Wyatt 1990). The damage done in the total institution of Jim Crow is intergenerational and still affecting the next generation, even more than is previously realized. Consequently, racist incidents, which are similar to acknowledged traumatic experiences such as rape, beatings, and other forms of violence, may result in posttraumatic-like symptoms (Bryant-Davis 2007). Woodard (2001) found that experiences of racial trauma were significantly associated with increased psychiatric and physical symptoms in African Americans; I will explore that notion that past racial violence and trauma can possibly be fundamental in explaining the disparity in the physical and mental health outcomes of elderly African Americans.

However, thousands of African Americans are still alive and have coped with the past and continue to cope with the memories. According to van der Kolk, McFarlane, and Weisaeth (2006), “most people who have been exposed to traumatic stressors are somehow able to [cope and] go on with their lives without becoming haunted by the

memories of what happened to them" (2006: 5). However, they caution that when survivors go on and cope with the trauma; is not a sign that they are not impacted by the traumatic events. What are some of the strategies for coping with oppression, violence, and overwhelming degrees of daily systemic chronic stress? Although several of my respondents were exposed to similar types of stressors and trauma however they did not all respond in the same manner (Pearlin 1999). Elderly African Americans coped in various ways and differed in their resilience; they learned to cope with the systemic chronic stress and relieve some of their distress. The multiple traumatic experiences that these elderly African Americans endured during their childhood have had an effect on their lives. Elderly African Americans coped in various ways and differed in their resilience. Alan Bass (2002b) in the article, "Historical and Unconscious Trauma: Racism and Psychoanalysis" described how the literature is saturated with descriptions of the trauma of the holocaust. Bass states,

> Our literature is particularly rich in the description of transmission of trauma in second generation Holocaust survivors. . . we have learned that what is transmitted from one generation to the next is almost never what one would think of as the large historical trauma, but specific, individual, and unthinkable acts of aggression. Thus, the necessity of the details, of the analyst's bearing witness to the idiosyncrasies of each narrative in the treatment of survivors and their children. Why hasn't this integration of observable intergenerational transmission of trauma with the theory of unconscious processes been generalized to include racial persecution in the US (Bass 2002b:275).

Indeed, the literatures on the atrocities about the Holocaust are extensive. Note, I'm not arguing that the Holocaust was anything less that an unspeakable and horrible event in history. However, I will argue that the events that occurred in the United States in the total institution of Jim Crow warrants saturation in the literature. Bass goes on to state,

> Any treatment of a Black patient that did not take such issues into account would be serious lacunae, like the treatments of second generation survivors that did not deal with the transmission of the parents' experiences. To avoid such lapses would require much more sustained attention to the decisive contrasts between anti-Semitism and racism toward African Americans (Bass 2002b:275).

As a result of the trauma that African Americans experienced in the total institution of Jim Crow it is unquestionable that they needed to seek help to assist in the process of healing their trauma and wounds.

In this chapter, I introduced the concept of segregation stress syndrome. I show how it is similar and different from PTSD. Some of the difference of segregation stress syndrome is that it is the collective consequence of racial traumatic events. The racial traumatic experiences are systemic, collective, and cumulative. The traumatic scale is just a guide for diagnosis. I argue that exhibiting one of the symptoms of PTSD could represent an aspect of segregation stress syndrome. I explore how segregation stress syndrome includes the feeling of sadness or depression, anger, anxiety or nervousness at the thoughts of the loss, being uncomfortable around Whites, not trusting Whites, shame when you think of the losses that you have suffered as a people, feelings of isolation, and feeling that others don't understand and refuse to acknowledge the magnitude of your loss, feelings that things are continuing and happening again, avoiding the places or people that remind you of the losses that you have suffered historically, denying the horrible things that have happened, and feelings that the men and adults in your life are unable to protect you from the horrible things happening.

CHAPTER V

FRONTSTAGE TRAUMATIC RACIAL EVENTS

. . . . *Jacquelyn Hall argues that in the post-Reconstruction South, rape—an act of violence against women's bodies—was inseparable from lynching—an act of terror against men's. Both were necessary to a society that upheld not just men's control over women, but White men's control over White and Black women and Black men. Rape was not simply an act of violence, but a sexual story men told themselves that legitimated other forms of violence, and rendered that violence peculiarly arousing and pleasurable. Only in debunking the elements of this continuing story, Hall suggests—the innocence of the White women, the licentiousness of the Black women, the lustfulness of the Black man—can feminists pose an effective challenge to rape . . . .Lynching, like rape, has not yet been given its history* (cited in Stansell and Thompson 1983: 328).

The Atrocities in Jim Crow's Total Institution

According to McGuire (2010), "African Americans understood that their lives could be snuffed out on a whim. Aside from the indignities of segregation. . . .White men in Mississippi castrated, mutilated, and lynched two fourteen-year-old Black boys for playing tag with a White girl; murdered a dairy farmer, who had used self-defense when his White employer attached him; killed Reverend Isaac Simmons and cut off his tongue for refusing to sell his land; whipped Leon McTate to death for allegedly stealing a saddle; and beat Malcolm Wright to a bloody pulp because they didn't like the way he drove a wagon" (2010: 31). These are just a few examples of the atrocities in the total institution of Jim Crow that you will be reading in the remainder of this chapter.

In this chapter of the dissertation will focus on the atrocities in Jim Crow's total institution that occurred in the frontstage. In this dissertation, I define the frontstage as the place where social interactions among Whites and Blacks occur. In the spirit of Goffman, the frontstage is not based on physical space but social spaces. In the

frontstage, African Americans follow the rules of racial etiquette and they defer to Whites. In the frontstage, many themes occur that illustrate the characteristics of Goffman's total institution. Some of the characteristics of a total institution include controlling a person's language, humiliation, and punishment, denying acknowledgment of a person's name and creating nicknames, a hierarchy, economic control, a loss of personal safety, forced deference and coercion, sexual assault, an inability to protect loved ones, constant surveillance, and suppression of feelings (Goffman 1961). In a total institution, the frontstage—for the actor—is where the practiced lines and performances are delivered.

In this chapter, I describe the interactions occurring more or less in the frontstage, specifically the traumatic racial events that occur in the frontstage. On a few occasions I reference the backstage response because it's important to connect what occurred in the backstage after a particular frontstage incident has occurred. In addition, even though the backstage is considered a place where the performance is halted and African Americans rested from their frontstage interactions with Whites. For African American parents and older family members the backstage was not necessarily a place of rest. Indeed, the backstage required a different type of performance for the parents of Black children living in the total institution of Jim. The parents performed in the backstage to protect their children from the harsh realities of living in a total institution. Therefore, the backstage was in fact a frontstage, masking as the backstage for African American family members.

In the frontstage, there were numerous racially violent and traumatic events including rape and sexual coercion, lynching of men and women, destruction of property, and verbal abuse. Bound by racial etiquette in the frontstage; African American men and women avoided the gaze of Whites by constantly looking down, and not raising their voices. Specifically, African American had to act less masculine, especially in the company of White women.

Racial Etiquette in the Frontstage

Jim Crow was an unbendingly enforced system of social oppression, a near-totalitarian mode of control enforced by local and state governments throughout the southern and border states (Frazier 1940; Packard 2002; Feagin 2006). One aspect of a total institution and racial etiquette is the use of language as a symbol of power and authority. According to Goffman (1961) in a total institution, an individual is required, "to provide humiliating verbal responses. An important instance of this is the forced deference pattern of total institutions; [the restricted] are required to punctuate their social interaction with [Whites] by verbal acts of deference, such as saying 'sir'. . .to beg, importune, or humbly ask for little things" (1961:22). African Americans learned the language of the total institution of Jim Crow, racial etiquette. The process of learning the rules of racial etiquette began in White and Black homes from the first agent of socialization, parents.

Frontstage: Watching Parents

In a total institution, Blacks never knew from whom or where the next racial attack would come. An older domestic worker describes a similar memory of White children during her early years:

> I remember that I went to town one Saturday, a little White girl was on the street, just start picking, starting picking at me. Me and my Aunt she was teasing: "Hey, nigger, nigger, nigger." Just kept calling us that. I told her, "you better go on home and leave us alone because we are not bothering you." So she just kept on right behind us. . . "Nigger, nigger, nigger, nigger, nigger, nigger, nigger." . . . I told her, "Come on, come on, I'm going to show you what a nigger is!" I was probably about . . . nine or ten, eleven. [Did your Aunt say anything?] No. She just didn't. No, no. She said, "Just don't bother, don't say nothing to the others."

Here a little White child uses the hostile racist epithet many times, reinforces the language of Jim Crow's total institution, and inflicts humiliation on a racially targeted child and her Aunt. Probably not yet fully aware of the danger, the child defends herself assertively, even though her Aunt warned that silence was the proper frontstage response to this White child.

Backstage: Warnings

The Aunt warns the girl to keep the incident a secret from other family members. In most instances, "the backstage is where the suppressed feelings and facts [of the frontstage interactions] make there appearance" (Goffman 1959:112). However, in some instances, the backstage became a frontstage place where silence prevailed and incidents remained hidden from certain family members. In a total institution, the length of time since the experience is usually not important; the affects to individuals are long lasting. In both instances, the backstage is a place of refuge, where individuals' remain silent

and/or live in houses where the curtains were draw, to avoid the attention of frontstage intruders.

Numerous respondents still live in darkened homes and exhibit physical signs associated with fear and PTSD, such as breaking out in a sweat and crying while recalling experiences with Whites, signs of trauma (Kessler and Zhao 1999; Amir and Sol 1999; Horowitz et al. 2001). According to Wasco (2003), "[the] effects of trauma include dysphoric affects (anxiety, fear, and anger) and somatic complaints (shaking, trembling) that are similar to symptoms classified by PTSD (2003: 314). A retired service worker recalls learning the proper frontstage performance in the total institution from listening to parents who told her to do what "Whites say do." However, this listening did not spare children from the humiliation and anger that occurred with the experience (Lemke-Santangelo 1996). She shares her experience with violent White children:

> Them children would jump us and hit us, and we [were] scared to hit them back. . We [would be] passing by in different places where they live and work. . . .Boy, they threw rocks at my brother. He was afraid. My brothers, they were scared. . . .Some of them [Whites] got it in them now, but they try to keep it hid but if you round them long enough you can tell. . . . They were mean to Black people. They were mean. I don't know what made them mean to Black people but they were. . . .I know who was scared, we were! They didn't care for us. . . . I used to be so scared. I'd tell my children, "I said, yes ma'am, no ma'am." . . . I told them in a way where they wouldn't be holding it against them now. They [parents] told us how to treat them. They were scared of them themselves. . . . I was little but I could tell.

This woman describes how she noticed that, even as a child, her parents were afraid of Whites, which helped generate her enduring fear. At young ages, White and Black youth learned appropriate "places" in the hierarchy of a total institution (Goffman 1961; see

also Ritterhouse 2006). Indeed, "White children harassed little Black children . . . . White parents and the whole adult world of racial inequality had turned morality upside down" (Ritterhouse 2006:169-170). We see that in the frontstage the respondent mentions that her brothers were afraid; she states they put on a performance in the frontstage that they are not afraid. However, they were. In addition, she states, "Some of them [Whites] got it in them now, but they try to keep it hid but if you round them long enough you can tell." The respondent is warning that today, in the frontstage, Whites put on a performance. She warns that if you are round them long enough you can 'see' through the performance.

Social psychological research suggests that those who see themselves as being socially dominant tend to act in even more dominant ways if they receive feedback that they are seen as too submissive (Burke 1991: 839). In contrast, Black children had to cope in their own defensive ways, yet dared not actively defend themselves. Like numerous other respondents, this respondent is painfully aware that her parents could not help their children fight back.

An eighty-year-old woman describes walking to school with her sister, when racial violence presented itself at an unexpected moment:

> As a little girl, I used to go to Williams School and we used to come down Wilcox Avenue. There was a White family living upstairs over a store and that little boy come down stairs and he spit in my face [lowers voice]. He spit in my face. . . .I cried all the way to school. . . . That thing hurt me so bad. I just cried, cried, cried. Because I understood he was doing it because he was White and I was Black. We understood segregation. We knew White people would take advantage of us. Oh yeah, you knew that. [Your mom and dad . . . ?] Yeah, they knew it. But what could they do? They couldn't go back up there and fight about something that had happened.

At a young age, she too encountered a White child likely expressing an attitude of White superiority and once again violently enforcing the imbedded racial hierarchy of Jim Crow's total institution. The backstage lessons didn't shield you from the emotional injuries of the experiences.

Backstage

In the backstage, Black parents wrestled with protecting their children, suppressing their anger, and hiding their fears of a violent White reaction to any countering response. In the backstage, the respondent lowers her voice, a backstage maneuver and an indication of some sort of shame. In the backstage, the audience is different from the audience in the frontstage. The respondent acknowledges that she and her parents understood the rules and structure of the total institution; they could not protect her or fight for her in this structure. Her only recourse for dealing with the humiliation was to cry in the backstage. Fifty years after the incident she recalls the event and the emotion of it is apparent. Her voice cracked, she lowered her voice, and she shook her head as she recalled it. Research shows that repressing emotions of anger, pain and rage has a detrimental impact on physical and mental health (Allen 1996; Carter 2007).

From the respondents' vivid accounts, we see the damage that occurs in the psyches of the young children who endured the total institution of Jim Crow and are, now, often fearful, hurting, elderly adults. We can surmise too the likely long-term effects of enforcing a required racial hierarchy in a total institution on the White children who are today's White adults—indeed, often those Whites in control of contemporary institutions. White children are not born with attitudes of White superiority; they are

trained by their parents and the larger White society to be conforming, often violent automatons (Ausdale and Feagin 2001; Ritterhouse 2006).

The Stigma of Race: They Just Didn't Like Us – They Hated Us

Goffman gives a thorough discussion about the stigma of mental illness, rape, and race. In the total institutions, African Americans mentioned that they were hated and despised just because they were African Americans. As mentioned earlier, Wasco (2003) states, "the devaluing of an individual's social status because of a characteristic of their identity [race] as insidious trauma" (2003:315). A respondent in her sixties in the Southwest states:

> You just didn't have to do anything to them for them to not like you. They just didn't like you because you was Black. And its kind of sad that we had went to a restaurant that we couldn't go in the front door, we had to go in the back door, and sat there where they washed the dishes at. . . so that and then the bathrooms, you could go to, you know, get up and go to a bathroom like the other peoples went, other White peoples went, you had to, you know, go around and go outside, and go to the bathroom, you could, you know, use their bathroom. [What about in today's society?] I would say [they still] dislike still, its still, its still going on, its just, they've just, they've just got a little smoother way of trying to hide it, you know?

This respondent use of 'we' when referencing the experiences in Jim Crow's total institution is indicative of the collective experience. In Jim Crow's total institution, individuals were not allowed to use the same facilities as their White counterparts. The respondent shares that no matter what you did it didn't help Whites look or treat you any differently. Kira et al. (2010) refers to this as backlash trauma. Kira et al. states, "The backlash constitutes, in this traumatology perspective, a complex cumulative trauma that is ongoing in overt

and covert forms that threatens the social identity of the individual. Such serious trauma predicts post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), complex PTSD, and co-morbid conditions as well as poor health" (2010: 61).

This respondent as many other respondents in this project recalled how Whites didn't like you just because you were Black. Her parents worked hard and you didn't have to do anything to Whites for them not to like you, "cuz it was just their nature that they wouldn't care for Black people." A 78-year-old respondent in the Southwest recalls how Whites what Blacks to just kill each other:

> And it was always a confrontation or fighting going on. It wasn't the old folks, it was the youngsters. And the police wouldn't do nothing, they would just say, "Well, them those 'N' words, they can kill each other off." . . . So I don't know what happened after that but, she was an old lady, they just hated Black folks and I couldn't understand why they hated us so much. We don't do nothing to them and they act like, what can I say, they act like we was dogs! That's just the way they treated us. . .

In a total institution, the people are restrained and restricted. The literature links the institution of slavery with genocide. However, the respondent is clearly stating that the police, who are given the duty of protecting citizens, are allowing and hoping that African Americans kill each other. They don't interfere with the extermination of African Americans. Goffman (1986) states, "By definition, of course, we believe the person with the stigma is not quite human" [equivalent to animals] . . . on this assumption we exercise varieties of discrimination, through which we effectively, if often unthinkingly, *reduce his life chances*" (1986: 5).

White Folks Choking You

An 88-year-old respondent in the Southwest recalls how Blacks were treated by Whites:

> Its better now then it was, yeah, its better now for everybody, everybody's working its better. But you know how, you know how the White folks is. The White folk, they been having your foot right over your neck for years, they ain't going to get up no where soon, but they are raising they foot up a little bit now, you ain't choking as much as you was back then, they going to let you get so far and that's all you going to get. I pity the people that think that, like what you call that preacher, Jesse Jackson, think he going to get to be a president, shit. He ought to know damn well when he started that shit he wasn't going to get to be no president, a china-man or a Jap will get to a president before a colored person will. . .it will be a long, long time before a Negro get the chance to be in that White House. I know Ms. (Inaudible) run for president a long time ago, she's a colored lady.

The respondent uses the language of the white racial frame when he states, "china-man and Jap." In the total institution of Jim Crow, African Americans used the language of their oppressor to describe other ethnic groups. In addition, the respondent references the collective when he states, "everybody." The reference to violence and having a "foot over your neck for years" and feeling like you are pinned in. The idea that things are better and that African Americans can breathe a little but they are still not totally free.

An 80-year-old respondent in the Southwest recalls her experiences working in the homes of Whites:

> I was trying to work and go to school and I worked in private homes and my first bad encounter that really bothered me was when I would go to these homes to work. I was good enough to go into these homes, keep the babies, clean the home, wash and iron the clothes, but I was never good enough to sit at the tables with them and eat and that always bothered me. Always bothered me so much and I knew that I couldn't live like that. I couldn't feel like I was nothing. So then I left.

The stress of feeling not human—not good enough is clear in this respondents feelings about "good enough to clean and care for their children but not good enough to eat at the table." The respondent mentions the stress of the experience when she states numerous times that it, "bothered her." An aspect of segregation stress syndrome is the stress of feeling as if you are good enough to interact with individuals on equal basis. Kira et al. refers to this type of trauma as backlash trauma. It is when individuals in society are, "disrespected and treated harshly, racial hatred, looked at like an enemy, and treated as an outsider" (2010: 67). Throughout the interviews, numerous African Americans mentioned feeling as if Whites hated them. Here too, we see the impact that it had on African American ability to work in the homes of Whites. In the total institution of Jim Crow African Americans overwhelmingly worked as domestic workers as their primary means of income.

A 72-year-old respondent in the Southeast recalls how she was treated in the homes of White employers:

> My mother, because she had to, when we were living in NY, she had to work in the White household as a maid doing the cleaning and the dusting and washing their clothes and taking care of the children, she said she never wanted uh, she wanted us to get an education. That she never wanted us to have to clean uh somebody's house (pause) because they could treat you very nasty in those kinds of situations. They were um allowed to test whether or not you would steal they made leave money laying around or leave jewelry laying around (pause) and that was to find out if you would steal. And it wasn't accidental. So, um that's another reason she never wanted us to work in a, for a White people cleaning their houses because then if something is missing they'd say you took it, not necessarily you didn't take it but that was there way of accusing you of something you didn't do, you know, testing to see if you would steal or what you would move around you know. [And *people who worked in*

> *people's houses would know that this was going on?]* Oh yes, it was a well-known fact that that's the way they test to see if you would steal. I don't know, have you ever seen this movie, trading placing with Eddie Murphy? *I don't remember seeing that*. Do you remember the man accidentally lost his, supposedly accidentally lost his money clip with money in it cuz he expected Eddie Murphy to pick the money up and keep it and Eddie Murphy picked up the money and brought it to him. Those are the kinds of things that um my mother taught me that White folks would do in order to find out if you would steal if you were working around in their house and stuff like that. And did she tell you how to deal with that, did she tell you… Don't ever clean in a White folks house. Get you an education; go to school so you can do something else other than work in White people house. [How did it make you feel to know that?] It made me feel like I was worthless.

In Jim Crow's total institution, African Americans didn't have the same opportunities as Whites did. African Americans understood the importance of education and they understood that they didn't have access to education. They knew that they wanted more for their children. The respondents shares how when African Americans worked in the homes of Whites in the total institution of Jim Crow they were constantly under surveillance and being tested. In addition, we see the collective experience when the respondent mentions, "it was a well-known fact." Here again we see the stigma of race, it made the respondent feel as if she was, "worthless."

The Rules for Blacks Not Whites

An 80-year-old respondent in the Southwest recalls that the laws and rules were for Blacks but not Whites:

> I know one evening we came from work and there was a person out there that was drunk and this person was White and they called the cops, and the cops came out and sent him home instead of arresting him. He drove around the corner, into somebody's fence, into somebody's house. Just a few days before that one of my husband subordinates had been stopped and he was drunk. You know what they did to him, they took him to jail. So there are some rules, and I say this—I don't say this with any

> regulations, there are rules of a town or a city, especially like [names town], are made for you and I. They are not made for them. That may be everywhere, but rules and regulations we must abide by them, but they bend them for their own. Now that's a prime example. If you're drunk, you're drunk. And if the law says you go to jail when you're drunk, that's what you should do. The White man—they sent him home and he ran into somebody's yard, tore up the yard and torn up somebody's house. The Black man—they took him to jail. What does that tell you?

In the total institution of Jim Crow, there are two sets of rules, rules for the oppressor and rules for the oppressed. The respondent references the collective experience when she states, "you and I." She includes me. This is an indication that she thinks that things have not changed and that there are still separate rules for Whites and African Americans.

We Fought Each Other: We Were Frustrated!

A 78-year-old respondent recalls how they took their frustrations out on each other:

> But, as far as violence among grown ups, I didn't see much of that in my little hometown. Most of the violence was just like it is today among the Blacks on Blacks, you know what I mean. It wasn't no Whites on Black, it was the Blacks on Blacks, because it was so segregated until, where the Black restaurants was, I used to walk through a little area we called "the flat," and it was restaurants on both sides of the street, I had another street I could of walked on down here where I wouldn't of even been these, but I wanted to walk by there and look and listen to music, and all, and they didn't have air conditions then like now they had the doors all open, so you could walk in the middle of the street and look and see them in there dancing and all that, and I use to like to (laughs), I use to like to do that see, and my daddy always tell me, "Don't you be going through the flats cause somebody through a beer bottle and you get hit and…" I'd, I'd do it anyway, you know, I wanted, me and a couple of more boys, we'd get over by a telephone post and stand and watch them dance in there. But the Black men mostly, not so much the women, but the Black men…I think now a days, in my own mind, I think that they are so disgruntle about their way of life and the work they were doing and wasn't making money and this and that, they stayed mad all the time, so the only way they can take it out would be fighting each other, didn't solve anything, but that's the way they let that steam off.

In the total institution of Jim Crow, the oppressed were frustrated because as the respondents mentioned, "[Black men] wasn't making money and . . . they stayed mad all the time . . . fighting each other was the way to let steam off." An important aspect of a total institution is the lack of economic opportunities. African American men in particular took out their frustrations on each other with violence. In an earlier quote we saw how the respondent mentioned that the police allowed African American to, "kill each other off."

We Never Saw Our Daddy

A 78-year-old respondent recalls how their father killed himself working so much:

> My Daddy, worked worked worked we never saw him . . . .my father would do this [work] all day everyday, and then when it hit five o'clock in the afternoon, he would, he had a side job feeding the mules. So when he got home at night it would be 9:30 or ten o'clock, we already be in the bed, me and my sister, I would hear him, but I wouldn't see him, I didn't see my daddy until. . .Saturday mornings, and Sunday nights. I'd just hear him cause he'd leave home in the morning to go feed the mules and, to uh, to harness them up and get ready to go to work at eight o'clock, then he'd feed them at night, he didn't get home till around nine, but he needed those two jobs to make enough money to keep us in school, and baby, that went on for quite awhile, cause they wasn't making any money, they were making like fifty cents an hour. I got grown, and got able to get out on my own, and I worked on two jobs for forty years, and my mother and daddy were both living then, my mother use to tell me, "You're working too much. You're going to kill yourself, you 're going to be just like your daddy, you're going to work yourself to death." Yeah, yeah, yeah. But I think back now, I'm thinking back, knowing he was doing that and watching him, not watching him, but knowing at the time that he was working on two jobs I think that had a little effect on me, because [They ask] "Why you working as old as you are?" I say, "I need the money." [They say] "Awe, Mr. Woody…" [I say] Yeah, I'm just like you, I spend all my money too…(Inaudible). I say, "I may not spend it on myself, but I spend it on my grandkids." Which, I do…that's where all my money go now, cause I don't do that much myself anymore. Me and my wife, we eat one good meal a day, but I got great grandchildren, great-great grandchildren, and some of them, some of their parents are

> hurting, just like my parents was. So, whatever they need, that, that I can do, I do it, for the little kids you know. And uh, I, I don't feel like I would be happy having a *great* big bank account, and a little grand kid running around needing some shoes. But I don't want to buy them cause I want to keep my money, I don't have that feeling, I want to do for those kids. Believe it or not, when I was down like this (demonstrates how tall he was as a child), I had one uncle that, my daddy's brother, and he use to pick cotton, go out on these fields in West Texas and all around, we lived in [names town] at this time, and he'd go pick cotton all the year, until around December when it would get too cold, and cotton picking was over, then he would come back to [names town] and live with us…and when, during the winter months he would live with us and my momma would uh, take care of him, wash his clothes, and all of that. But all through the year when he was picking cotton, he would send money home to her, to keep his insurance up. Now he was a little different then my daddy, my daddy worked, worked, worked

In Jim Crow's total institution, the oppressed worked many hours and in some cases two jobs to support their families. This respondent reference to her father working from dawn until dusk affected him as a child and as an adult. The intergenerational transmission of work ethics is clear. The respondent inadvertently is dispelling the notion that African Americans were lazy and sat around doing nothing. In addition, he shows how even though he didn't need to work he did because that is what he saw his father doing. It is clear that this man's mother was afraid that he would follow in his father's "you're going to work yourself to death." In spite of all the hard work, "they didn't own anything." In Jim Crow's institution, working hard didn't afford African Americans the American Dream. In addition, we see that in spite of all the hard work, his children didn't see the intergenerational transmission of wealth. The respondent states, "I have grandchildren, great-great grandchildren, and some of them, some of their parents are hurting, just like my parents was."

Frontstage: We Knew the Boundaries

A 62-year-old teacher in the Southwest recalls how Blacks knew the boundaries:

> We were always told to conduct ourselves properly so we would be a good example and would not be a handicap for those coming behind us so we had to be formal in most situations and try to conduct ourselves in an exemplary manner so that we, because if one Black did something wrong, then all the Blacks were considered wrong. So we had that burden that we had to deal with and most of us handled it fairly well. [*Did you pass this advice onto your children?*] Yes. I think the way I worded it is the only way they can get to your dad is through you, yeah, so you have to watch yourself because they know who you are and they know who your folks are. You are representing not only yourself but the community. And that was the same message that was given to me when I was growing up, the honor was more to it then just about me. I have three sons, which was scary, three sons. I had Joe Jr. and then we had twins, Curtis and Charles.

The respondent focus on the collective identity associated with being in a total institution is telling in this narrative. He states, "If one Black did something wrong, then all Blacks were considered wrong." The intergenerational transmission of trauma is clear in this narrative. His parents taught him this and he passed the advice on to his children. He mentions, "The burden that we [African Americans] had to deal with and most of us handled it fairly well." One aspect of segregation stress syndrome is the burden of carrying the entire African American community on your back when you interacted with Whites in the total institution of Jim Crow. In addition, we see the fear of having to raise three sons, "which was scary," for this respondent because of the racial violence in the total institution of Jim Crow.

An 80-year-old respondent in the Southwest recalls knowing how to stay in your place:

> When you can't go to the store into a café, and you can't go into the front you have to go in the back. You know about it. . . . When I would go to [names town] with my dad and my grandfather whoever, there were

> certain places that were strictly the Blacks end of town. So we didn't try to go in on the other end of town. You just knew where your place was and so you didn't try to go. . . I remember. How people try to hurt my children and see it just wasn't the time when my parents were around. They probably could not have been as vocal as I was, but I tell you I wasn't going to have it. I was just not going to have it.

In the total institution of Jim Crow, it was dangerous for African Americans if they didn't know their place. This respondent mentions, "You just knew your place." In addition, African American children were used as a weapon to keep parents in line. A respondent in an earlier mentioned, "If they wanted to get to your parents they would use you, their children." An aspect of segregation stress syndrome is this pressure of protecting your family and ensuring that you didn't give Whites a reason to inflict psychological or physical violence on your family. However, what invoked violence from Whites changed from moment to moment.

Soldiers: Second Class Citizens

A respondent in her seventies in the Southwest recalls how Black folks were treated as second-class citizens, including soldiers returning from war:

> It was so bad here that in, we got order that we was coming here and everybody's saying "you don't want to go there, they treat Black folks like second hand citizens." They couldn't go downtown to the clubs or anything, the Black soldier had to go to [names town], for social and relaxation, you know. In fact, before they came to the [names town], Korean and Black soldiers, they were married, Vietnamese or whatever. They had some people here in [names town], [names town], use to own Cornell Chevy, he was one of them, and four of them, got the first plane to Washington and said they didn't want no [interracial] marriages in [names town], by the time they got back here, the order came down from Washington. Either the soldiers are coming here with their wives or we'll shut [names town] down. They got they butt back on the plane and went up there and changed they tune, but there's still a lot of prejudice and there still is. I mean he dead now, but there still is. When we was alive, way back when, they wouldn't sell cars to Black folks, but now you can

> go downtown, you know, money talks now, if they close down [names town], this town will blow away, and that's why they go back on that plane and changed their tune. They didn't want no Black soldier stuck around, you know, you can go down to the mall and sit down and watch some of these older White people in there, when you see a Black guy pass by with a White woman or Korean or whatever or vise versa, the White guy with a Black girl or whatever, you see on they face, they don't like it, but they can't do nothing about it. See it's a whole new ballgame now, whole new ballgame, but that's the way it was, like you were a low class citizen.

In Jim Crow's total institution, the oppressor decided who could marry. In didn't matter that African Americans were in the military, fighting for the freedom of all Americans. In Jim Crow's total institution, some African Americans were lynched in their uniforms. In addition, African Americans could marry Asian-Americans in other countries however when they arrived back in the U.S. with their wives they were challenged. African Americans knew that there were places that they couldn't live in spite of their service to their country you were still considered low-class. Again, we see respondents connecting the past to the present.

A 63-year-old veteran respondent who lives in the Southwest recalls his first encounter:

> I can say I can remember the first one, but I can remember some characters that I had confrontation with. I was young…wasn't one of these folks that took stuff, it just wasn't in me. I was different. When I was growing up it was thick racism in my state, but my thing was you strike me, I am going to strike you back. That was the way I felt. My mother was like that, my daddy was on the other side of that, he was humble…he grew up in Mississippi and his thing was, and I know that he witnessed more racism than I did. He was a generation ahead of me, it was worse, a lot worse. It was a lot worse, but his thing was that he was a Christian and he didn't believe in hating nobody. And I don't know what he is saying… "don't hate him," look what he was doing. I don't want to hear this, I couldn't understand. I'd listen to him and hear all the things that he had to put up with and he still didn't hate them. My mother was a

> different person, she was different, and I was like her. If you pounce on me, I am going to pounce back. That how I was. Because they were White, they weren't friendly. . .they made sure that you understood that they didn't like you, called you names. All the time, and if I called a White boy a name in my reach and called him mean things. . .all I needed was the slightest provocation and we'd fight. It was just that simple. That was how I felt. You are not going to pick on me; I am not going to have that. That wasn't a bad thing because I saw folks that were humble and would try to be nice, and they would take them out and beat them up, lynch them. But the ones that stood their ground, they would leave us alone. You know what they did back then? They would label you "Lord that nigger is crazy." Fine, call me what you want, don't hurt me and don't touch me. . .you think I am crazy but I know that I am not. It was fine with me. Any Black person that would stand their ground, they would label them "Lord that nigger is crazy" and they would just leave that crazy nigger alone. Cuz they knew that nigger would hurt you because that's what they knew what was in his heart. That was the kind of person I was, not that I went around looking for trouble, don't get me wrong. But I didn't choose to be one of those crying "please don't do this sir, mister." Now with those older folks, yes ma'am. There were a lot of folks around, I even witnessed it working…I was in my teens; I was working in a clothing store in the afternoons after school, and there was a young White girl working there as well. And there were these older folks that don't even work there, and I asked the girl her name and she told me. Then she said that the guys before me used to call me Ms. . . .I said no, your first name is fine. We were the same age so we call each other by our first name. I learned real quick that I wasn't going to do this, I wasn't going to bow down to you. But the store owners, yes, they were Mr. and Mrs. She was Sandy, that was it. But then there were older folks that would buy clothes on credit, that was their habit buying clothes on credit, paying three or four times what they should be paying for the stuff back then. But they would take out credit in the store, and then they would come in and pay their bills. People at that time, my age and older, were coming in the store and taking off their hat and bowing to her. I was sweeping the floor one time and an older man came in and took off his hat and she was just eating it up. I stopped and looked at him then looked at her, she knew that I didn't like that, but that was how it had been for so long, and you didn't dare address a White by their first name. You would have to call them Mr. or Mrs. whatever. I did not do that, if they were my age, my peers, they got called by their first name.

In this quote, we see the references to the collective experience. An aspect of segregation stress syndrome is the collective experience. This respondent refers

to himself as, “being different.” He is different because he fights back. In addition, he makes it clear that he didn’t want to be, “one of those crying “please don’t do this sir, mister” type of African American. In Jim Crow’s total institution, if you didn’t follow the rules you were considered “crazy.” In affect, this respondent is using his resistance as a means of fighting back. Earlier in the dissertation we saw one respondent stating, “I was shuffling,” pretending to be something that I wasn’t. This respondent uses the term, “humble” as a way to showing that there were a collective group of African Americans that followed all the rules and did what they were told. In addition, Goffman (1961) stated that the institutionalized speak with forced humility and deference Also, he mentions that his father emphasized that he didn’t hate Whites. Another aspect of Jim Crow’s total institution was being called by something other than your name, which in many instances was, being called a “nigger.”

Restricted Language and Public Spaces

As mentioned earlier, in a total institution, language symbolizes power and authority; the individuals with power speak freely. As I mentioned earlier, the institutionalized speak with forced humility and deference (Goffman 1961). In the total institution of Jim Crow, African Americans learned the language of racial etiquette and they learned about the restricted areas of the total institution. Doyle noted during slavery, “once the conversation got under way, the slave replied with ‘sir,’ or ma’am,’. . . . ‘sir’ or ‘ma’am’ was stressed as the one important word”. . . .[and] Whites referred to older slaves as Uncle. Herbert Spencer noted, “What an obeisance implies by acts—such as reverence

and loyalty—a form of address says in words" (Doyle 1937:14-16). In Jim Crow's total institution Blacks were often referred to as, "boy," "nigger," "auntie and uncle," and an array of other names which denied them dignity and acknowledgment of a level of equality in the institution.

Frontstage: Symbols of Oppression

Frontstage: N-Word Signs

Earlier in the dissertation, we witnessed how in Jim Crow's total institution there were signs that let you know where the boundaries were and how you were required to abide by the unwritten rules and regulations if your skin was not White. A respondent in the Southwest talks about the signs in town:

> Oh. I just know that in, you know, certain parts they had these signs "If you can read nigga…if you can read, nigga run"…or something like that. And it's just down not too far from here and they still don't have any coloreds that live there because they all prejudiced, you know. But now everybody is kind of mixed but it's still…people are still prejudiced.

Another respondent in the Southwest remembers how you had to comply in the total institution of Jim Crow:

> Well I had to comply with whatever was going on and there was nothing I could do about it. I either complied with it or got hurt trying to not comply with it. Because of the ways (mumbles) "hey nigger come here." They talked dirty to you then asked "did you like it?" What could you do about it? Take some sticks and beat them? There was nothing you could do about it

Indeed, one important aspect of the total institution of Jim Crow is being called outside of your name, especially the N-word. Whites would talk to African Americans anyway they wanted and African Americans knew the consequences if they didn't comply.

Throughout the dissertation, the rage, anger, and stress associated with compliance affected the mental and physical well being of African Americans throughout their life course. Indeed, in the total institution of Jim Crow, "racism is pervasive to the point that we take many of its manifestations for granted, believing 'that's life'" (Yamato 1988: 27).

Signs: Kill All the Niggers

A 71-year-old respondent in the Southwest recalls how in the total institution of Jim Crow, African Americans commonly used phrases such as "that's the way it was/is." Her 8-year-old-grandson was in the room:

> I think 64' Sam Cook went to New Orleans, Louisiana and uh, he went in a restaurant to eat and they arrested him, so he made a song, you probably heard it "A Change Gon' Come." That's how he made that song, because they arrested him because he was sitting there at a restaurant where White folks suppose to sit and I remember I used to have to ride the bus going to New Orleans to visit the charity hospital, I was pregnant, and you sit in the back, had to sit in the back of the back of the bus, you couldn't sit up front. It didn't make no difference if you 10 months, 20 months pregnant, you had to sit in the back, and if there was no seats in the back, then you had to stand up, you always had the sign, say "colored" and "White." Even when I came to [names town] in 1968 they had a sign in [names town] that had said, [names town] meant "KILL Each and Every Nigger." That's what the sign meant and it stayed up for quite a while. . . . Jackie Robinson, I know he died, been dead before your time was. The first major league baseball player, he was stationed here at [names town] and they put him in jail for riding on the bus, where he wasn't suppose to ride, but now, they wanted to give a plague to his daughter, you know, like apologizing, she wouldn't even come and accept it. That's the way it was, and like I said, my first child was pregnant with we was in Atlanta and I had to ride the bus to New Orleans and they could have fifty dozen seats empty up front, you didn't sit down, you sit in the back. They didn't care if you pregnant as big as a house, you were Black, so you sit in the back. That's why I don't too much trust for White folks, I don't, I don't respect them, cuz' they didn't care nothing about you, you know, like I said my grandfather was White and Black and you couldn't tell he wasn't White, you know what I'm saying, but that mean nothing to them. They don't

> care. If you got a little bit of color in you, you Black. A nigga, that's what they call you. Negros was niggerous women like niggerous, mean nigga, nigga what you want? You know that's the way it was, that's how it was. I am serious, and when I'm at that nursing home and I be running my mouth I can see them old White ones in there saying, she must think she something, don't say nothing to me, cuz' you might get hit. (I laugh) yep (she laughs). Yes.

In Jim Crow's total institution, signs and symbols are a fundamental aspect of passing on the rules and regulations. An aspect of segregation stress syndrome is cumulative trauma. Scholar Kira et al states, "cumulative trauma that is ongoing in overt and covert forms that threatens the social identity of the individual" in any given society (2010:61). An aspect of segregation stress syndrome is this ongoing threat to the identity of African Americans in Jim Crow's total institution. In addition, an aspect of historical trauma is the ability to trust individuals.

Buses

Indeed, the range of customary and legal practices of language can be seen in this account from an older Black woman who was a nurse and is now working as a teacher. When asked, "Do you remember your first encounter with a White person?" She responds with an array of customary practices:

> I remember going to my grandma's on the bus and my mom having to stand and hold one of us while she's standing because all the seats were taken. We may have started out with a seat, but as we went along the pathway, if the front seats filled up, White people could sit all the way to the back. I remember my mom telling us about the little brother that we, she lost, because she's pregnant and on one of her trips home she had to stand all the way from Georgia to here and therefore she miscarried the baby.

As mentioned earlier, Goffman (1961) states, in a total institution, "the most significant of possessions is not physical at all, [it is] one's full name . . . loss of one's name can be a great curtailment of the self" (1961:18). The written laws and informal customs of racial etiquette set the stage for Whites to call African Americans "Uncle," "Auntie," and "Boy." While African Americans were required to address Whites —of all ages— "Mr." and "Mrs." Also, the racial etiquette of the total institution included the customary practice of African Americans willingly stepping off the sidewalk when Whites walked by, to not talk back to Whites, and to accept derogatory naming (Kennedy 1990; Litwack 1998). African Americans were forced to accept the hierarchy of the total institution or be punished. Gardner (1989) criticized Goffman for not considering the gender interactions of public spaces, "Goffman's vision of public places disregards the folklore that some individuals [Blacks] should master, if not practice, an etiquette that implies restricted possibilities for interactions" (1989: 44). An 88-year-old respondent in the Southwest remembers being called uncle:

> You have to look for that because you, you going to hear things, right or wrong you going to hear things, it may not be right, but you going to hear it see, cause you know what you up against when you go in it, you up against, from the time you born until you die, you up against, one strike is going to be on you or with you all your life, why, because you're a Negro. And the Black is going to stay on you everywhere you go, and they never going to really just get down, and do away with it. Before they will call you by your name, a colored person, they'd call you "uncle." You know damn well they ain't, you ain't they uncle, they call you uncle.

In Jim Crow's total institution, being called out of your name was something that African Americans dealt with on a daily basis. The respondent makes a powerful point about the stigma of being Black when he states, " from the time you born until you die,

you up against, one strike is going to be on you or with you all your life, why, because you're a Negro." Indeed, African Americans knew that no matter what their accomplishments, how hard they worked, they were still Black. In addition, being Black was not a positive thing; it was a strike against you until the day you die.

Frontstage: Empty Buses

As in the previous narrative we see, White bus drivers have racist social networks such as police officers to assist in sustaining a racially oppressive system. This elderly male respondent in his seventies recalled an incident in the Southwest of individual racial violence on a public bus:

> I remember when I was in high school. I think I was a junior, and during the summer I had a summer job, I was washing dishes at a cafeteria . . . I had to be there at 5:30 in the morning, and the buses started running at about 5 o'clock. There was nobody on the bus but the bus driver. . . . They had this thing (on the bus) that you had to go to the back, but wasn't nobody on the bus but the driver. I got on there; paid and just sat right there in the front. He wanted to raise hell about that and (he) made me go to the back. Nobody was on the bus. So, I told him, "Man! Ain't nobody else on this bus, and I'm just going about 5 blocks. Just 6 to 8 blocks." He told me, "If I didn't get to the back of the bus he was going to stop and call the police on me." So, you see what we go through. This wasn't something that needed to even be talked about you know? He could of just went on and drove the bus and let me off. But no. (Sounds of disgust).

The hierarchy of Jim Crow's total institution required that the restricted had to comply with the rules in all instances. The oppressed were under constant surveillance by everyday Whites who were supported by representatives of the state, the police. Again, we see the customary public and private discrimination in this account that the experiences of discrimination are a source of stress that can adversely affect mental health and the acceptance of the stigma of racial inferiority. The perpetrators of

discrimination feel the need to uphold the White sense of superiority, even when the bus is empty. The bus driver is inflicting, intentionally, a sense of racial inferiority on this respondent. ". . . These incidents can induce considerable distress, and some studies have found that exposure to discrimination, such as this incident, can lead to cardiovascular and psychological problems among African Americans" (Williams and Williams-Morris 2000:251). Again you have the collective "we" in the narrative.

A woman, now in her sixties, as a young teen, refused to give up her seat on a racially segregated public bus in the Southwest:

> I was about 12 or 13 years old. We had to ride on the back of the bus. If a White person got on the bus, we had to move to the back of the bus and we had to stand up all the way. . . .Sometime a White person would get on there, every now and then, and when a White person would get on there, if it wasn't no seats for them to sit down, they'd ask you to move to the back, ask you to get up, I've been asked to get up and let them sit, sit down there. Well, I just, I just refused to get up, I say, "I'm a woman just like she's a woman," and the bus driver stopped. He said, "If you don't, if you don't, let her sit down . . . When I move the bus, I'm going to call the police." I just still stayed there, they called the police, and they had me catch the next bus. Sure did, I had to get off the bus.

The immediate consequences for this respondent were not as deadly as the upcoming quote from a solider in the Southeast, when he resisted giving up his seat. However, the police did arrest her. She resisted the imposed identity of the total institution by stating, "I am a woman." These are similar to the words uttered by Sojourner Truth in 1851, "Ain't I a woman. We are always negotiating our perceptions of ourselves in the situation that must match our identity standard (Burke 1991). White officers arrested African Americans if they resisted the written and customary laws of the total institution. Again, we see representatives of the state, enforcing the customs. The psychological

injury of anxiety and fear, as well as the public humiliation likely resulted in this woman enduring some psychological trauma.

Goffman examination of etiquette didn't consider public spaces as places of danger for Blacks because of their race. According to Goffman, our sense of identity is derived from both the image we have of ourselves coupled with our public image (Goffman 1961; Burke 1991). As another male respondent in his 70s put it, "You had to get on the back of the bus and sit at the very back. You didn't challenge that. If you did, you were dragged off the bus and you were beaten and arrested. You were called an uppity nigger." White authorities, such as police officers, were key participants in the enforcement of the total institution of Jim Crow. After waiting long hours, a frustrated Black solider, in uniform, finally gets a seat on a bus headed home. This World War II veteran, now in his eighties, recalls the series of violent incidents:

> We [had] gone overseas to fight for this country. . . .I came home on leave I had to get in the back of the bus in Washington DC. . . .I couldn't get out for about 10 hours. I am in uniform. I only had about 4 or 5 days at home. I'm waiting in Washington . . . you lower than all the White people, you lower than all of them. I finally squeezed in on the bus and they had a revolution [on the bus] to get me off. . . .I said, "I wasn't getting off the bus." The bus left the station and after they were about 100 miles from [southern city] and a White Irish police officer came up to me and hit me with an object similar to a Blackjack of today. The police officer said, "There is that nigger." He hit me on the side of my head and that is all I remember. I was found on the railroad tracks miles outside of [names southern city]. I was severely beaten. I had 500 dollars on me and my leave papers and they were all taken. I was in uniform. My injuries were so severe that four years later I had to have brain surgery because of the injuries sustained in the beating. Several men, who served and fought for the country, were beaten and lynched in their uniforms after they returned from the war.

According to Goffman (1961), the loss of personal identity and safety, as well as being referred to with obscene names, is common in a total institution. Especially in the total institution of the military [and Jim Crow], "the uniform not the man is saluted (so that the man is not demanding deference for himself)" (1961: 115). According to Serpe (1987), the higher the salience of an identity, the more likely we are to make decisions that are consistent with the higher identity's expectations. This Black man's identity as a solider is contrasted with the way he is viewed by the White police officer. The police officer considers him a person who was breaking the hierarchal rules of the total institution. For the police officer this Black man is an intruder who needs to be removed; he is a criminal. The stress associated with trauma, unlike non-traumatic stress, can unravel the way we see the world around us, and more importantly the stress can unravel the way we see ourselves.

Backstage: Contemporary Consequences – I Hate Buses Today

The respondent shared that he had undergone several operations to recover from the physical trauma that he experienced in this incident. The psychological scars, "according to him will never heal." The stress associated with trauma can generate feelings of instability and fear. (Bryant-Davis and Ocampo 2005:485). We see the contemporary manifestation of psychological trauma associated with years of the public humiliation in Jim Crow's total institution as this female respondent, in her seventies, in the Southwest states,

> The way they treated some of the Blacks, it was horrible. I remember when I was going to college and I had to ride the bus to and from, because I didn't have a car like you guys have now and you didn't sit at the front of the bus, you sat in the back of the bus. That's demeaning.

> That's demeaning to be considered a second race. And to this day, I don't let anybody do that, I will stop you. I do that because I was never comfortable in the back, I was comfortable in the front. I will sit in the driver's seat if I have to. I just came back from England in the summer and baby I tell you that was a hard trip for me. I am not going to sit on the back of no bus. You're right near the toilet, the ride is rough, and I hate buses. To this day I hate buses because that was our place. To this day I hate buses. You can hardly get me on a bus. And the only reason that I rode on the buses in England was because we were not familiar and driving on the wrong side of the rode and for me to rent a car I would just have been kind of lost and so we took the tour, we took the buses, instead trying to rent a car. I had a car rented but we still couldn't do nothing to it. And I didn't, but I don't like but rides.

As the respondent states, "I am not going to sit in the back of no bus! I hate buses! To this day, I hate buses because that was our place. To this day, I hate buses. You can hardly get me on a bus." We see the psychological contemporary consequences of the total institution of Jim Crow, segregation stress syndrome. An aspect of segregation stress syndrome is the avoidance of places, things, and people that remind the individual of the traumatic event.

A 65-year-old veteran in his sixties remembers the bus stations in the Southwest:

> During my early years of service, there were places that I would go and couldn't get service and wouldn't allow us, then we were traveling along the highway and when we got hungry, there may be a truck stop, they always had some nasty place for us to eat. I experienced some of that traveling around. As I grew up, we were pretty much self-contained, so I didn't have to go into town. But the folks around us that had to go into town, they had it pretty bad; they had to put up with that. Like at my hometown, there was a bus station where they served all the White passengers in a nice area, then they had this little nasty hole for the Black passengers. There again they had in most public facilities that allowed you in there, they had would have a nice clean restroom for Whites, and a nasty unclean one for Blacks.

In Jim Crow's total institution, the oppressed have restricted access to certain places. If you wanted to eat, drink, or use the restroom in the total institution you had to deal with

what Whites gave you. The respondent clearly notes that, "we were pretty much self-contained." However, the African Americans that had to go into town "had it pretty bad." In addition, we see the references to the collective experience another aspect of segregation stress syndrome.

Frontstage Language: Buses and Sidewalks

This male respondent in his sixties reports that in the 1940s he learned deferential practices that frequently framed interactions with Whites:

> When Whites were walking down the street, you had to get off the sidewalk . . .Whites basically demanded it. . . .That was the whole process of racism. You had to get off the sidewalk and you never addressed Whites as nothing more than "yes sir, or yes ma'am" and you never look Whites in the eye because that was a sign. . .that you were being belligerent. . . .An uppity nigger and you get challenged for that in a minute. . . .You were the powerless so you just said, "Yes sir and no sir." There were some Blacks who used to voice their discontent but Whites didn't know it. "Yes sir," you know [in a sarcastic tone]. . .allowing them to say it, but not because you've earned it, because I don't want no problems from you.

According to the respondents, the collective practice of stepping aside or "yes sir, yes ma'am" submission was a survival strategy required of most Blacks. In a total institution, the institutionalized had to hide their feelings of anger behind a veil—significantly, often one of countering sarcasm and exaggerated deference. The institutionalized constantly maneuvered several aspects of the institution at a time. Goffman notes, "fear of penalization seems adequate to prevent the individual from performing certain acts or from failing to perform them" (Goffman 1961:179).

Backstage

In the safety of the backstage, Blacks voiced their discontent with each other and in the frontstage they said, "yes, sir," in a sarcastic tone. Often Whites were unaware of the sarcasm. A respondent recalls, "early on we learned that you don't talk back to White folks. You said, "Mr. and Mrs." You accept it when they call you Auntie and Uncle. You stay in your place. You walk on a certain side of the street. If they're in the way you step off the sidewalk. You give them your seat on the bus. . . .

Bus Boycott

A 63-year-old respondent in the Southwest recalls how things began to change with the bus boycott:

> All of this where you paid the same fare as everyone else then you had to sit at the rear of the bus. As we got to thinking, we thought, "why do we have to do this anymore?" and sure enough, that same mind set became the thinking of a lot of folks. Then started the bus boycotts and the sit-ins to protest and integrate places that we weren't allowed to go into. For instance there were a few stores, you could shop in them, and also they had counter for hamburgers and soda, well we couldn't sit at those counters, this was a particular store back home, it was a five and dime store, they had those back then. You could go in and buy reasonably priced stuff. We could shop in there and spend our money, but we couldn't sit in at the counters and have a hamburger or a cup of coffee. So we decided that all of this had to change. So the sit-ins began, mostly college students, we had a college back in my home town. They began the bus boycotts in the city. Everybody supported them, we had funds to bail them out of jail. Because at that time it was law, and we weren't…the people that owned these business couldn't serve us, we couldn't sit down at the counters, we couldn't sit in the front portion of the bus…all of this was on the books as law. They were legitimately passed laws, Jim Crow laws. It was illegal for these business to treat us as equal. Pay, there was two pay scales in the factories and stuff, there was a law for that, they couldn't pay a Black man the same as a White man for doing the same job.

This respondent clearly understands the laws of the total institution of Jim Crow. The point is that Jim Crow was about "separate but equal" is an understatement. The practices of rules and regulations in the total institution had little to do with equality and more to do with institutional discrimination.

A 62-year-old respondent in the Southeast recalls how scary the bus boycott was for her as a small child:

> I think I must have been 7 or 8. I just knew that it was a scary thing. Because at first my parents really didn't want to participate in it, they were scared. But after awhile you would feel bad yourself if you got onto the bus. You would have been talked about, because of the fact that Black people were supposed to boycott the bus. If you just had to get somewhere you just needed to walk if you couldn't carpool. I would say that they were a little bit afraid at first because it was going against the grain. This was going to hurt the bus company, which it did. They lost so much money. And back then you didn't want to do anything that would get on White people's nerves. You just wanted to say "yes sir."

The respondent mentions in her narrative on more than one occasion that people were, "scared and afraid." However, they still fought against the rules and regulations of Jim Crow. It makes it all the more heroic that African Americans were afraid; they knew they could lose their homes, jobs, and in some instances their lives. In addition, the bus boycott was much more than just about not riding the buses it was dangerous and Blacks did it anyway because they wanted things to be better. The collective experience in the narrative is clear when the respondent mentions that you would feel bad if you got on the bus knowing that you were suppose to be boycotting. African Americans were aware that Whites were unpredictable and if you got on "their nerves" there was no way to predict what they would do. However, the African Americans in the community, in spite

of their fears supported each other in this effort to change the rules of the total institution of Jim Crow.

A respondent in her 70's in the Southwest remembers the bus boycott:

> I remember also the bus boycott (unintelligible). My family never really had a car, not for a long, long time. So we used the bus for everything, or our feet, walking. . . . if you got on the bus and you saw that White people up front or you see seats in the front and none in the back then most times you would hold on this little rail up in the bus and stand. Instead of trying to get one of those seats. And my dad worked for a church, downtown. My mother always worked ironing people's clothes. Something like that. But I can superficially remember a time when we were not supposed to ride the bus because we were going to boycott the bus because we had to sit in the back of the bus you couldn't sit where you wanted. And you know it was really a strange thing because we were so used to sitting in the back of the bus we felt that was how you were always supposed to go. And after they said that we shouldn't have to sit in the back of the bus, you should be able to sit anywhere you want to. And when that was started being tried, people started being put in jail.

The African American community knew that they might be subjected to arrest and imprisonment for participating in the bus boycott. In addition, offering and giving assistance to other African American boycotters would warrant an arrest. It was deadly to challenge the rules in Jim Crow's total institution. However, African Americans knew that they had to take the chance in order for their situation to change. The respondent continues:

> So in Tallahassee Reverend Charles (unintelligible), a Baptist minister, started organizing the bus boycotts and the thing was that Charles Jr. was in my class, he had another son named Clifford and I forgot the other son and he had a daughter. But we would have these mass meetings at the churches. I can remember. . .I grew up at [names church] Church and they would start these mass meetings, that was they were called, a lot of Black people would come to hear what they would say. I imagine that things were passed on from other areas, the King area. So what happened was that they would get station wagons, that's what they used back then, from the different churches and did what you call a car pool. And instead of us

> riding the bus, you wait for one of those station wagons to come and pick you up. And you even would tell people at church that you need a ride; like my father who had to have a ride because he needed to get to work, and didn't have a car. So they would come by, pick you up, take you to your job then come back. And that went on for a long time, I really didn't realize how long it went, but I think it was well over 180 days. That's a long time, so the bus company really started to feel it. And then they let us. . .some kinda way they changed their policy. And then you can just get on the bus. But of course even though you could sit in the front people would still sit in the back because that was what they were used to. But then everybody didn't go to the back, some people did stop at the front. And then ride the bus.

African Americans internalized their socialization as they grew up in the total institution of Jim Crow. The rules and regulations were so engrained in African Americans that when things did change some African Americans continue the practices of the past. Indeed, some of it might have been for protection. African Americans knew that Whites were unpredictable. As one respondent mentioned earlier, "you didn't want someone to act crazy." Another respondent in the Southeast remembers how she learned to go to the back of the bus:

> I think it was from not from them necessarily teaching us, but from observation, like seeing everybody go that way so and then as a child, I wasn't that young, but when they take you hand then you automatically know to go that way. So that was the main thing. The other thing that I remember is having to fix a lunch and even it seems a long, long way, but just to go [names town from Thomasville] is really like 35 miles on bus. So we could go to [names town], Georgia. That is where my dad's family is from. And you knew to fix your lunch because you knew that you couldn't stop and go eat, so you would always have a shoebox lunch. It was a biscuit, it wasn't like sandwiches like kids eat now, it was like a biscuit and a piece of chicken or whatever. But you knew to fix it.

The socialization process includes the things that you are taught and more importantly, what you witness. The respondent recalls that she observed the rules and regulations in Jim Crow's total institution. We see the power of observation

and an aspect of segregation stress syndrome, the intergenerational transmission of trauma and oppression. According to Yamato (1988):

> When I speak of oppression, I'm talking about the systematic, institutionalized mistreatment of one group of people by another for whatever reason. The oppressors are purported to have an innate ability to access economic resources, information, respect, etc., while the oppressed are believed to have a corresponding negative innate ability. The flip side of oppression is internalized oppression. Members of the target group are emotionally, physically, and spiritually battered to the point that they begin to actually believe that their oppression is deserved, is their lot in life, is natural and right, and that it doesn't even exist (1988: 28).

Indeed, in the total institution of Jim Crow some African Americans internalized their oppression. The respondent in the above narrative offers evidence of that internalization. When African Americans had the right to sit anywhere they wanted to on the bus they still went to the back of the bus, they still went in the back door, and they still allowed Whites to mistreat them, in some instances.

Traveling by Car: Be Prepared

A respondent in her sixties recalls what it was like to travel by car in the Southeast:

> I remember is that traveling from the North back down to [names town], back down to [names state] there were certain places we knew that we couldn't stop. You either had your tank full of gas, 'cuz you knew that you couldn't stop in Mississippi 'cuz they were already hanging people and it was scary. So Black people didn't want to be caught especially not at night. So you fill it with gas and never stop anywhere; you kept going. You could be tired and sleepy, but you couldn't stop at a motel. If you stopped at some little hole you couldn't sleep 'cuz you couldn't be able to rest because you didn't know if somebody was going to break into it because they knew Black people were in there or not. It was an uncomfortable feeling.

An aspect of segregation stress syndrome is how trauma is associated with not just experiencing or witnessing a traumatic event. It includes and is associated with hearing

about a traumatic event. This respondent recalls hearing about violence and you didn't need to be in the same state as the event to know about it and be fearful as a result of it occurring. The stress of having to deal with the fear of being attacked simply because of the color of your skin is as she states, "scary and uncomfortable." According to Goffman (1986), "the [visibly] stigmatized individual will have special reasons for feeling that mixed social situations make for anxious unanchored interaction" (1986: 18). A 78-year-old veteran in the Southwest remembers traveling by car:

> I served in the Army there was time when they sent me from Oklahoma to El Paso. Back then you couldn't go in a place to eat. We started riding about, during that whole trip they stopped about three times to eat, but uh, the driver came up to me and said, "Man I'm sorry, but you can't come in this place to eat, I'll bring you something." I said, "Never mind, if they don't want me to eat I just won't eat." So we made the second stop, he said the same thing.

The stigma associated with being Black comes with psychological consequences. The knowing that you are hated just because you are Black has a long lasting impact on the African American community. The stress associated with the battle that goes on with a Black person's identity is well documented in the literature. Goffman (1986) states, "Discrepancy may exist between an individual's virtual and actual identity. This discrepancy, when known about or apparent, spoils his social identity; it has the effect of cutting him off from society and from himself so that he stands a discredited person facing an unaccepting world" (1986: 19). A respondent in the Southwest remembers that Blacks got better treatment in different states in the total institution of Jim Crow.

> They just going to mess it up. I don't know who to give the credit to, I don't know to give it to Martin Luther King, or Eisenhower or can't give

> it to Johnson because Johnson wasn't shit no way but a crook while he was up there. Well I'd tell you what, I'll give it to Kennedy, and his brother, the one that was the attorney general, cause that stuff down there in Alabama, was it Alabama, or in Georgia, Alabama, probably had been Mississippi State University, that (inaudible) sat in front of that school house and wouldn't let them color students go in that school children go in that school, what's his name, Robert…Robert Kennedy said, I'm going to fine you so much every day you stand in front of that door and keep them children from going in that school house, finally he had to move, cause the Army come and got his ass away from there. So I give the credit mostly to the Kennedy's, some of it, Martin Luther King got some of it, I'm surprised that poor man lived as long as he did, I looked for that man to be killed a long time ago, mmm. Hell them pecker-woods wasn't going to put up with that, uh uh. Put the dogs on him and all that, water hose and all that stuff on them. Down three in Mississippi they just wasn't for that stuff. . . . in Jackson, Mississippi, in the café where we ate at, there was a table here me and my wife say there and the White folks sitting right there and before they put 22 through Jackson, I went down there one time, and I reached in the front door, I know-ed that wasn't a truck stop because I been here before, I said, "Lady yall serve colored people?" She said, "We serve anybody that got money, you can come on in here if you got money, you can come-on in here." And I talked to some color people down there in Mississippi, they say they give Mississippi a bad name, but the average colored person down there in Mississippi brought that stuff, what they done to him, on his own self, that's what this guy tell me, now he's a color guy, brought it on they self. . . .I walked in, a big fat old White lady sitting in there, she say, by the time we both got in there, I was in the front, she say, "You going to have to go around to the back for you to come in." I said, "It don't make me no difference where I eat just as long as I get me something to eat."

The respondent refers to Whites as "peckerwoods" in his narrative. Indeed, he expected Dr. King to be killed and was surprised that he wasn't killed sooner. He understood the rules and regulations of Jim Crow's total institution. In addition, the respondent knew that the rules and regulations changed as you traveled from state to state. His experiences with the total institution varied based on what state he was in at the time. The respondent knew that he had to stand up for himself in certain situation. He knew the boundaries of Jim Crow's total institution.

We Weren't Afraid in Germany

A respondent in her sixties in the Southeast was more afraid of living in the total institution of Jim Crow than she was of living in a country, Germany:

> In the South, we felt real terrible actually. At first in Germany, we had not the best treatment, but we had good treatment because we was the officer; they had to respect him even though he was Black. In Germany we had gone to places without being all scared, we traveled a lot, all over Europe…at a $1.50 to stay at a campground and $10 for a hotel maybe every 3 nights or something like that. So we traveled all over the place and really didn't have to be afraid. Now everywhere you go you are going to be singled out because we were in Germany, people hadn't seen Blacks in a good while, and they'd look at you and call you "schluts" which meant Black. And they would look at you, you know think that they could rub you, they could rub this off but they couldn't. We went to Northern Africa, same thing, point at us…I think it was my attire because I had on my dress here instead of having something long. But we still was singled out. Here we are, dark just like these other people and then they are point, singling you out. So you feel like you always in some kind of light that is always shining on you and if you didn't think good about yourself you'd think that you were bad. Because somebody is always saying something negative; making you feel like less of a person.

The respondent and his fellow Black officers were more welcomed and felt more comfortable in a foreign country then they felt in Jim Crow's total institution. The stigma of their skin color didn't warrant or compromise the respect that they received because they were military officers. As the respondent mentions, "in the south, we felt real terrible." We see the collective experience and the stress associated with living and navigating a total institution. The stress and the contradiction that accompanied their status as an officer in the military are with the stigma of being Black. The respondent specifies the stress of always being under the limelight and having to have a strong sense of self and a strong identity. An aspect of segregation stress syndrome is the cumulative stress that accompanies the constant negotiation of what you think you are versus how

you are treated by the larger society and those with power and control. In addition, we see that foreigners viewed their Black skin as a novelty something that could be rubbed off.

Trains: Keep Your Shades Down

A 92-year-old respondent in the Southwest recalls how bad things were on the trains:

> When we rode the train, we would run into this situation on the train. Come through Longview, you know where Longview is up there? You better put your shades down, close your windows down, you were in the coal cart, you was right behind the engine. Cause White folks threw rocks at us, you know things like that that's basically what happened. So that's the only time we really encountered segregation so-so.

In Jim Crow's total institution, African Americans didn't want Whites to see them so they would close the shades and blinds for fear of the White gaze. African Americans closed the blinds and shades in their homes as well as on trains. They feared that Whites would inflict emotional and/or physical violence on them. The stress and the fear of hiding as African American traveled added to their cumulative stress, which is associated with segregation stress syndrome. Other African Americans in an earlier narrative mentioned that they only traveled at night in order to protect themselves from the consequences of the White gaze and the physical harm that would accompany it.

An 88-year-old veteran in the Southwest shares his experience on segregated trains:

> Just for the record, all I can tell you, you was Black, you know the whole time I was in the navy, (clears throat) I didn't run into that stuff until me and my buddy, it was five of us, got discharged down there at Camp Wallace, that day. . . . So, he didn't know where the train station was in [names town] to catch the train to go to [names town], I knew where the train station was there to go to [names town] and also the one to come down here. But his train leaved before mine, I took him down to the train station in [names town] and that was the first time I saw that damn sign, I didn't say nothing thinking, before we can even get the tickets to go to

> [names town], "You got to go around here, with the colored people." Right there in [names town], that's the first time I had heard that thing, the whole time, I come plum across the United States, from Virginia to California, and never seen that damn sign, till we get right there in [names town].

The respondent compares his experiences to being in the Navy. When he was in the Navy he didn't experience the signs and symbols of the total institution of Jim Crow. Throughout the narratives, we see how African American men were treated in foreign countries versus how they were treated in the country in which they were citizens. An aspect of segregation stress syndrome is the negative psychological impact that signs and symbols of the total institution had on African Americans. The respondent states, "that damn sign!" It was clear that he was upset about the signs that reminded him that his service to his country and his status as an officer didn't trump the stigma of his skin color in the total institution of Jim Crow. African Americans knew the signs of Jim Crow and the boundaries. The lines were not physically drawn but they knew when you've entered into the total institution of Jim Crow. Indeed, the signs and symbols were clear.

Frontstage: Police Officers and Violence

A respondent shares how her crippled brother had an experience with police in the total institution of Jim Crow:

> My brother, Uncle Bay, was at a place and he said something. I don't know what it was and he was crippled, you know, from that accident, it left him crippled. And the policeman, I don't know what you'd call them. It's not police, they'd call them something else-sheriff or whatever. He was at this place and he said something and they didn't like it and they told him to come outside and they put him in the car and they beat him up. And just came a dropped him along the road and it was nothing done, nothing was done. And he had not committed any crime or anything.

> Good thing I guess God took that man, it just hurt, we were all just so hurt that they would take a crippled man that did nothing. They thought he said something, I don't know what he could of said, but words, you not suppose to get beat up for words. But I can't remember what he said, something, and they told him to come outside and they took him outside and put him in the car and took him down the road and beat him up. He was, his eyes were all Black, he was already crippled from that, you know, and that's the worst. [Did you report the beating?] They did report it, it was just nothing done. Only God could take care of that. His wife died and he committed suicide, I think. It just, that's just something that just hurt you so much. I almost didn't move to [names town] on account of that.

The respondent's family member was crippled but it didn't stop the police from inflicting violence on him. An aspect of segregation stress syndrome is the pain of knowing that because you are Black that an attack from Whites was inevitable. In addition, African Americans had no recourse. The police were charged with protecting the citizens of the state, yet they were the ones that inflicted violence and didn't protect the citizens. Unfortunately, the courts and judges left African Americans with no chance of due process. African Americans would report the acts of violence and trauma. However, in most instances Whites evaded punishment. In the total institution of Jim Crow, if you said something or did something that the officers of the state didn't like they could beat you up, cripple you, and in some instance kill you. The man's ability to care for his family was taken when he was beaten and crippled by the police. The stress of knowing that you have no recourse was in some instances, unbearable. As the respondent mentions, "he didn't commit any crime." The number of African Americans that committed suicide while living in the total institution of Jim Crow has never been calculated. A respondent in the Southwest recalls how the police treated them in their neighborhoods:

> In our neighborhood, it had got so bad that you couldn't hardly go out because the police was always on you. And you go to another part of the town and the police was just on you because of the times. We decided, when they put that new Central Expressway through there, they split our neighborhood in [names town], so we decided that whenever they do something to us we *would* retaliate!

The respondent mentions how the collective African Americans didn't want to come out of the house because they were under constant surveillance by the agents of the state, the police. In Jim Crow's total institution, in spite of the danger African Americans did fight back. They choose a cause and they organized and tried to change their situation.

Frontstage: The Theatre

A respondent in the Southwest recalls the theatre as a site of second-class citizenship.

> I remember them places where you'd had to go in that place and they had divided the place where you had to go through the colored door over there and the White door over here, yeah I remember them places, yeah. You couldn't go in the drug store and sit down at the counter and drink a fountain coke, hell naw, naw you couldn't do that. You know-ed you couldn't so it wasn't no need for you to go in there and try it. . . .Hell because you couldn't sit there down where the White folk sat at, hell no. You go up in the top. Some of them you go outside and the steps are outside the building going up, then you go in that side door and go into the picture show up in there, where all the color folks are, White folks down there. Discrimination, its been that a way, child, and its going to be that way, they trying to give them a break now, but I'd tell you what, these young ones, now they the ones that's going to mess up everything. They going to mess up everything.

The total institution of Jim Crow as riddled with contradiction. African Americans couldn't sit where Whites sat in restaurants. However, if an African American was on the bus sitting in a seat any White person could enter the bus and demand the seat. The White passenger would sit down in the seat that the African American passenger had just been sitting in and gave up. In addition, even though things have changed the respondent

is still afraid that, "young people will mess up everything." There is an indication that the change is not permanent it can be reversed. A retired teacher in the Southwest remembers going to the theatre:

> And uh, we knew we couldn't go to the movie we could go to the movies, but you, we had to go and sit in what we use to call the 'buzzard roof'. And uh, but as I said before, we went there we would see the movie, we were just glad and would enjoy it. We didn't realize this was something terrible. And of course, as time passed we did. We were able to look back and say, 'You know that was a shame!'. But at the time we didn't know it was a shame. And we stayed with our friends, we stayed in our neighborhood and we enjoyed each other.

The respondent recalls how things were In Jim Crow's total institution. The respondent sees things in hindsight. The shame of the experience for the respondent is realized until later in life. In addition, we see the animal reference when recalling the location of the movie theatre where African Americans were forced to sit as the, "buzzard roof." Do keep in mind that a buzzard is in the bottom of the pecking order. Buzzards eat dead carcasses on the road, something that no one else wants.

A respondent in the Southwest recalls going to the theatre when she was around 12 or 13 years old:

> It had to be, yeah, because at the time it was me, and Paula, and Brother going to the show, mmm hmm. And Paula was little and momma always told us, hold Paul by the hand, cause you know, cause Paula, Paula wanted to go to the show with us, and we had to sit upstairs at the [names theatre], I mean they did have a Black show, it, our show was called the "Harlem Theater," and momma and daddy didn't like for us to go down there, so, at the time, everybody started going to the [theatre] cause the [theatre] showed better pictures then the Harlem did, they'd show any kind of pictures down at the Harlem, and so at the time we had to go upstairs and the Blacks, the Whites got to sit downstairs, I remember that. And Police [names police officer], if somebody come up to the concession stand, if your Black or White, I mean, if you were there first, I mean, you had to wait and let them go and get their stuff and all that kind

> of old stuff…I remember that. Paula use to go when she was a little bitty girl, at the time we had to hold Paula by the hand, Me and Brother, and Paula. [*How did that make you feel?*] I felt bad because you couldn't, you couldn't do what you wanted to do, you had to sit upstairs, everybody couldn't sit down in the show together, it was a long time before they integrated the show, it was a long time…very long time. And then when they did, integrate the show, the Blacks still wanted to sit upstairs, they still, they had treated us, treated us so bad they still didn't want to go downstairs, cause they didn't know what was going to happen. [*What happened when Blacks finally did start sitting down stairs?]* I mean, I mean, there was, I mean, they'd come in there and get to fighting in the show and somebody would get hurt, yeah, yeah. It was always a fight in the show, mmm hmm. I mean, you know, and then they started integrating the stuff little by little, little by little, they say well the Blacks can go ahead if they want to and a lot of them was still probably scared to go, cause they didn't know if somebody was gone go in there and come there and shoot and kill you and they still wouldn't go…sho didn't, they still wouldn't go, they, they stayed, most Blacks stayed on they side cause they didn't know if somebody was going to come in there and start shooting at you or shoot and kill you while you were sitting in they aisle or something and didn't nobody want to get killed, so the Blacks still stayed on they side of town, don't you remember that Paula? They didn't know if they were going to get killed or not, oh yeah its alright for them to come in a White restaurant and sit down and then you didn't know whether you gon go in a White restaurant and some White boys, Ku Klux Klan, will see you and go out there and start shooting, shooting and kill you. They were doing that probably back in the 60's. They didn't care nothing about Blacks.

The respondent shares how a trip to the movie theatre could mean death for African Americans. Even though the laws of the total institution of Jim Crow changed African Americans were afraid that Whites would retaliate, other African Americans mentioned it earlier in this dissertation. The total institution ended on the law books in the mid-1960's, yet it was well into the 1970's before Blacks felt relatively 'free' to act on the change in laws. A respondent in the Southwest remembers a small act of resistance in the theatre:

> We would go to the movies and it was funny to us, the Black folks had to sit up on the balcony, the White would sit down there, and so we would throw popcorn and stuff down there (laughs).

In Jim Crows total institution, Blacks found what might appear to be minor to an individual that didn't live in Jim Crow's total institution. However, for African Americans throwing popcorn was a powerful way to have agency and have a little fun.

Frontstage: Department Stores

A respondent in the Southwest recalls how difficult it was to buy dresses if you were African American:

> I use to go with my mother to the store, grocery, dresses, to buy dresses, but Black ladies couldn't try the dresses on, they had to buy them. You couldn't try them on and if it didn't fit like you can now, you give it back to them and put it back, they wouldn't put it back on the rack because a Black person had had it on. I didn't notice these things because I was little then, but I use to hear my momma and some of my aunties talking about it, and I think about that sometimes now, how things have really changed because, uh, sometimes she'd end up buying something that didn't exactly fit then she'd have to go to a seamstress and get some more done to it because it really wasn't the size she needed, but that's all, they wouldn't let her exchange it, cause she had already tried it on.

The experience of trauma and suffering from segregation stress syndrome are not based on witnessing it or experiencing the trauma. The respondent shares how in Jim Crow's total institution the trauma was transmitted through hearing her mother and elders speaking about their experiences. An important aspect of segregation stress syndrome is the intergenerational transmission of trauma. Again, we see in the narrative how the way Whites treated African Americans implied that they were dirty.

Frontstage: Floor Walkers

A respondent in the Southwest recalls being watched because you were African American when you went into department stores:

> Yeah she was a floorwalker. . .she was White. . . .I was there, going around looking at clothes and . . .she got too close behind me and I took a silk dressed and wrapped her in the face with it, and they called the police. . . . Mike called back, "Momma, Sylvia done got into it!" . . . .They called the police and the police and, and, and so . . .Mr. Hikes he say, "Well, she shouldn't of been following Sylvia." I say, "I told her in the first place, you know, I wasn't stealing nothing picking up nothing. . . . she reported me to the White person which was Mr. Hikes. Well, well they had me leave the store and I told them I wasn't going to leave the store. Well, they didn't do nothing, they say, "You not leaving the store?" I say, "Naw. I say, "Well you can go ahead and call them police and I'll wait till the police get here"…and I waited there until they got there. The police say, "Well, uh, well what was she doing…was she picking up anything, was she stealing any stuff?" And they say, "No." They said, "Well then, why do you want her to leave the store?" Because I took that silk dress and wrapped that lady in the face with it. . . .they feel like say hey, they already label you "Blacks are going to steal, Blacks and Hispanics gon steal, but Blacks are gon steal more then anybody." And as soon as I walked in [names stores] they'll put a floor-walker on me, thought I was going to steal, but I had money to buy. Yeah, every time I walked in [store] down in town, or out there in [names town], they'd put a floor-walker on me. . . .I was working. . . at the court . . . .that lady got so, she came on my job that year. And Mr. Mills told her, he say, "If you come back up here and tell me anything about Sylvia, I'm going to see that you go to jail." She got mad I cussed her out, so she came on my job to report me. . . .[*She was the floor-walker?*] She sho did. She's a White woman, she came to the court house and told Mr. Mills. . . . Mr. Mills asked her, say, "Tell me what do you want?" "Well I come to, I come to report Sylvia" I don't know how she found out I worked at the court house. And so Mr. Mills said, "Well, what did Sylvia do? Did she pick up something? Did she steal anything?" "No she didn't." He said, "Well, why are you down here on her job? Why you down here? If you come back here again I'm going to see that you go to jail." He said, "Don't you come back up here telling me nothing about Sylvia no more." And that's when he asked me he say, "Sylvia, how well do you like [names store]?" I said, "Mr. Mills, they have what I like, that's the reason why." He said, "Well Sylvia, you should just stay out of there." "I don't care how much they come down here, and come up the stairs, I do not care." Yeah. She

> came round there, told Mr. Mills I cut up, Mr. Mills say, "Did you cut up?" I say, "I sure did." I say, "She ain't got nothing to do, I said, whatever I do on the weekend is my business Mr. Mills, and not her's." I say, "Yes I did curse her out." I say, "And I'll curse her out again."

The assumption in the total institution of Jim Crow was that African Americans were dirty and criminals. The 'floorwalker,' looks White but she is actually Latina. Again, we see some of the access to privileges that lighter-skinned racial and ethnic groups had to the benefits of Whiteness. In addition, we see that another minority group who has experienced the oppression of Jim Crow's total institution has sided with the oppressor and policing African Americans. It is the internalization of oppression often referenced by Goffman (1986). The 'floorwalker,' exercised her right to go and complain to the respondent's boss to get her fired. The norm of the total institution of Jim Crow included everyday Whites and light-skinned individuals policing and retaliating against African Americans if they defied the rules of Jim Crow by resisting and fighting back.

In Jim Crow's total institution, African Americans never had a life in which they were not under surveillance and subject to punishing for fighting back for themselves and their families. Indeed, in some instances African Americans lost their jobs for resisting. A teacher in the Southwest recalls going to restaurants and stores:

> Yeah. Going to restaurants through the back door, ordering food to go when we really just wanted to sit and eat. Those were incidents that occurred on a daily experience that we had to deal with. We were treated in retail stores, you know, it's almost like they'd follow you around and there are some instances where they still do that even today because of your color. But even more so, you know, it's like we're going to pick something or steal and you know, we didn't do that. We were taught not to do that and our parents watched us to make sure that we didn't have any problems with the law. We did ever opportunity to make sure we didn't have an account with the law enforcement. We stayed out of trouble for the most part.

The respondent connects the past to the current situation with surveillance and stores. Under the watchful eyes of parents, children were warned as we see in an earlier narrative not to engage in any behavior that would get them in trouble with the law.

A respondent in the Southeast recalls her first encounter with Whites and how there were Whites who were good to African Americans:

> The first interaction I had I think was good. There was a store in our community that was owned by White people. You were always indebted to them though, cuz then you would buy stuff on credit. They have a book with your name…and we would go down there and say "my momma wanted a pound of sausage and this and that" and they would write you up. So you could say that they gave you food even though you got it on credit and you never finished paying it still was a good experience. You looked at them as good people, they let us have food.

The respondent shares how there were good Whites because they let African Americans buy food on credit. It shows how little it took for Blacks to consider Whites, good. Fundamentally, the norm was that Whites were bad. In addition, the economic restrictions of the total institution of Jim Crow; African Americans had limited resources and had to buy food on credit.

Frontstage: Black Women and Their Crowns

A retired teacher in the Southwest recalls how difficult it was buying hats if you were African American:

> Oh yes, in clothing stores, there are many clothing stores that my relatives and myself we would go in, and especially with hats, uh we always like to wear nice hats to church, to look nice and of course we would go to the stores and look we would see a hat. The first thing the clerk would say, "oh please don't try the hat on cause you might have oil on your hair that will get on the hat," so you couldn't try on that hat you just look at it. And if you thought it looked nice, it would look nice on you; you had to purchase the hat. Later on through the years, they would have these littlie,

> uh plastic that you would put on your head, little plastic caps, you put on your head and then you could try that hat on. And that way you know if you had any oil on your hair it wouldn't get on the hat. And of course with clothing you couldn't try on the clothing because I guess they felt that you were not clean enough to try them on, so you couldn't try them on. You used to just go in and look at the dress and you would think "oh I think this is my size and I think I can wear it," so you would purchase the dress; or you would purchase the hat.

Repeatedly in the narratives, we see the references and actions of Whites that imply that African Americans are not clean. Indeed, you purchase the hat and if it didn't fit you couldn't return it. Several scholars have done research on the significance role that hats played in the African Americans community throughout history.

Frontstage: I Hate Hats

A respondent in the Southwest recalls her mother buying a hat in Jim Crow's total institution:

> I know more about things going on during the civil rights years and how they beat and treat Blacks, that what I did when I was growing up. I just don't remember it. It was there- I know that we didn't go to the formula (pharmacy) stores, we didn't- we had to know our place. We had to go in the back door. I remember that. But I really didn't have to go. My daddy and my mom and my grandfather went to the store. I didn't have to go. . . . My mamma wanted a hat from a store in [names town] called T's brothers and they would not let mamma try that hat on without putting a ton of paper in it because you know Blacks have to put oil in their hair. A ton of paper- how did that hat look with all that paper on it? These are the kind of things—now, I remember that. And I thought that was silly then. To this day, I hate hats. Couldn't get me in a hat. [*Did she get the hat?*] Yeah, she got the hat. She was not like me and my daddy, my mamma went on and took the hat, but I probably wouldn't have even of bought the hat, had it of been me. She was very sweet, I remember she said, "I was born in 1905" (we laugh)

The respondent states, "I hate hats." This shows the contemporary consequences of the trauma that occurred in Jim Crow's total institution. For some of the respondents buses,

water fountains, back doors, and hats are now a reminder of the oppression and humiliation that African Americans endured in the total institution of Jim Crow. The psychological consequences of trauma, segregation stress syndrome, are not adequately measured in contemporary society.

Frontstage: Doctor's Office Was the Worst!

A respondent in the Southwest recalls that going to the doctor's office was one of the worst experiences you could have in the total institution of Jim Crow:

> And at the doctor's…now the worst part was the doctor's office. You went until they had no more uh [Whites] . . . you know, you would go in one side, you know, a little room and uh…the other people would go in the front. And they didn't put your name down, you just came and when it was no more Whites, well then they would take you. But you would be there for a long, long time-no matter how sick you are. You had to wait until they had saw all the [White] patients, then they'd see you. And that was really hard. . . . Well by not going out a lot. The only thing was like stores and doctor's office. You knew that you had to wait.

In spite of everything for some African Americans, the worst experiences were in the doctor's office in Jim Crow's total institution. If you are, ill or you have an ill child you are vulnerable. To sit in a doctor's office watching White patients, who might not be as ill as you or your family member, get treated by the doctor before you clearly states that your life doesn't matter because you are Black. A respondent in the Southwest recalls a visit to the doctor's office when her son broke his leg:

> My son got his leg broke and I had to go to the back of the doctor's office and I went to the back I cleaned the office and I couldn't go to the front. I had to take him in there he was playing right there (speaks indistinctively about how he was injured, then) I carried him out to the doctor the secretary told me the doctor, my regular doctor, was out on vacation said but the doctor here, his name was Dr. Smith, he don't doctor on Blacks. So he wont see him, he should, but he wont cause he's Black. [*And what did you do?*] So I said, "Oh please doctor on him, my child is in pain." So

> she went and asked him, so he said since I cleaned his office, I cleaned his office everyday, Everyday! Even Saturdays, everyday but Sundays, since she cleans the office I will take care of him, until her doctor gets back he wasn't my doctor he worked in there with him. And he took care of him because I cleaned his office. If I hadn't he wouldn't have put his hands on him and he told me, and I said "Oh I'm so glad that you saw him cause he was in pain so much last night just hollering in pain." But he said so many Black people after they come to visit him they don't even come back no more. "So I never doctor on them, a Black person no more." I said I wasn't one of them I said my doctors out of town but I sure will pay you for doctoring on him. Until he got back into town, but we will be back next week and he's going to have to put his hands on him, the child was hollering and crying. [So do you remember how old you were when you noticed that umm, you were, because you were Black you were treated differently from White people, do you remember how old you were?] About six. [Do you remember what happened? Like when you were six what happened? To make you feel like that?] Well we didn't have no telephones, wasn't but one, and if we needed to use the telephone you had to just stand out in the rain and they would talk back into the phone and told them what you said. We couldn't go in their house and the back door you know? We couldn't go into the house. We couldn't touch the phone.

The respondent cleaned the doctor's office everyday and this is the only reason why the White doctor took care of her injured and traumatized son. The experience of trauma at an early age can have a long lasting psychological impact on a child. In addition, the mother who is forced to beg and plead, while the child is hollering, and crying, did not ignite the White doctor's sense of humanity. The racial violence is individual, physical, and intentional. The traumatic experience for the mother and the child is undeniable. The physical injury on the child and the experience in the White doctor's office inflicted psychological injuries on them both. The respondent stating, "I am not one of them" is clearly distancing herself from other African Americans in the community. The practices of White doctors in the total institution of Jim Crow allowed this unlawful practice to be

an everyday experience for African Americans. Today, the White doctor would be held accountable and responsible for overtly denying medical treatment to an injured child.

Frontstage: Restaurants

A respondent in the Southwest recalls how African Americans had to *eat their rage*:

> Then one more story, when I served in the Army, there was time when they sent me from Oklahoma to El Paso. Back then, you couldn't go in a place to eat. We started riding about, during that whole trip they stopped about three times to eat, but uh, the driver came up to me and said, "Man I'm sorry, but you can't come in this place to eat, I'll bring you something." I said, "Never mind, if they don't want me to eat I just won't eat." So we made the second stop, he said the same thing. Early in the morning, bout 5 o'clock we got over there into Mexico, he say when we get over into Mexico I could stop and get out. Ain't that something? All the White folks is eating, but the Negro can starve to death. And that's when I ate.

As has been mentioned by other respondent, African Americans were treated better in foreign countries that they were treated in Jim Crow's total institution. African Americans had to eat their anger and rage. In addition, these African American men are veterans; they were willing to give up their lives fighting for their country. However, as the respondent states, "the Negro can starve to death."

A respondent in the Southwest recalls pushing boundaries in Jim Crow's total institution:

> I was about 10 or 12 years old when I realized that I couldn't go in the front door of the café cause I was, went through there one day, of course they turned around and looked at me, but I kept on walking and I knew, I knew I had to go to the back of the building, I don't know how I knew, but I knew I had to go to the back of the building to get served. But uh nobody there never said anything, and uh I got what I wanted, and I knew the lady there well, she made the best pie in the world, knew her very well and uh, but when I told mother about it she said, "well you really weren't supposed to do that." You know she told me not to do it again. And uh, she said, "that uh, aint nobody said anything but you can ever tell

> when somebody gonna act crazy." So that's, that's all she told me about it and she didn't really put it, put it in segregational, what am I trying to say? Segregational context, you know, just that the people might, might be thinking of something crazy.

The respondent recalls how young he was when he realized that he couldn't go in the front door. In Jim Crow's total institution, African American families tried to protect their children from the reality of their situation as long as they could. The respondent's mother framed it as if; one or two crazies out there might do something to the respondent. The respondent's mother didn't clearly explain to the child that in the total institution of Jim Crow these are the rules and regulations. There were many African American respondents that did what they could to protect their children as long as they could from the reality of the total institution.

A respondent, who is a veteran, in the Southwest recalls going into restaurants in the total institution of Jim Crow:

> I have to take this back to the military too. When I finished basic training, AIT jump school and I was in Fort Campbell, Kentucky and I was authorized to leave, so I took this 7 day leave…me and my friends, and we left from Fort Campbell, Kentucky and we went into Tennessee…we were on our way to West Virginia...but when we got into Tennessee and we went to this restaurant in the morning 'cuz we had driven through the night. So about 6:30-7 o'clock in the morning we go into the restaurant to get a cup of coffee. Even through we were in the military we had to stand separately, however, during this time I was not thinking. So we stopped at this restaurant, so we sit down on these round stools, as we sit there one minutes, two minutes five minutes nobody says a thing. But as soon as I say, "Can I have a cup of coffee please?" the lady said "I m sorry, we can't serve Black people." And I go and I looked, and my wife got up and started using city school language because she was really angry. "Let us get out of this bad, bad place." I said to her "take it easy." She was upset there were three of us. So I tell them that if they don't want to serve us then we won't be served. As we walked out, it was our fault because there was a sign that said, "no Blacks allowed." They used the term Black, it said "no Blacks allowed." We left out of there. It was in the year of 1962.

> So we came on out of there and we got in our vehicle and I say that we have to find some place to eat. But we was thinking that since we were in Tennessee that this place is really racist so we need to get closer to home. We need to get all the way home and forget about eating, but I said that we need to stop and eat some place. So we stopped and we were very cautious…from Tennessee I think we hit some place in Virginia, and we stopped in Virginia and we had our breakfast and so we went on…well that was one of the most embarrassing situations because in the military it was what you called organized discrimination. Then you go out into the public, then you find people actin' that way and it was really surprising to me.

Throughout this dissertation are the testimonies of solider after solider that have been confronted with the reality that their service to their country, their willingness to sacrifice their lives didn't mean anything when they returned to the total institution of Jim Crow. They were treated with the same stigma associated with their skin color as their fellow African Americans. However, in this narrative it's clear that African American women had more of an opportunity to express their rage and anger then African American men had in the total institution of Jim Crow. The Whites in the scenario blamed the victim for not reading the sign that said, "No Blacks Allowed," Typically in these types of situations the oppressed blame themselves. The respondent states, "It was our fault." The veteran accepted responsibility for the incident. Unfortunately, he feels ashamed and embarrassed. Yamato (1988) states, "you look for someone to blame and you blame the victim, who will nine times out of ten accept the blame out of habit" (1988: 31). A retired teacher in the Southwest recalls being called dirty in a restaurant:

> You see how he was calling me 'girl' that's what he was accustomed to, but I knew one day it was going to come around. And another encounter I had while teaching at that school, one day, see I knew I was looking descent and nice, there were three Whites there, they were older, and I

> was told that I was probably going to get some off remarks from them, it didn't matter to me. And (mentions name) told me to try and get some of the other Black teachers to go to this one particular restaurant, but they never would. It didn't matter with me. And sure enough, they were all in there, 'Oh, she lives right over the on the edge of the nigger neighborhood.' And I'm sitting right there, and I say (in a confused voice), 'Where, where is that located?' (they reply) 'You don't know where that is??' I said, 'Not really.' So I play kinda crazy. So I said, 'Oh, let me get some coffee.' And they jumped up and said, 'No let us get it for you'. They said that because they didn't want me to touch the handle, like my skin color was going to give the coffee some kind of infection. Then they would say, 'Oh you want cream and sugar right?' But since they were drinking it Black, I said, 'No I like my coffee Black.' They said, 'Oh, you do?', and I said, 'Sure do.' I had never had a cup of Black coffee in my life. That was the worst tasting coffee I ever had, my stomach was so hurt when I made it home that evening. So this went on and on for about two and a half weeks. I reached for the coffee and they would jump to get it. They would talk about Black folks in there constantly, then one they asked me how I like teaching at the school, and I replied, 'Oh I just love it. The people here are so friendly!' They said, 'You are?' By that they meant I should have been hating it and ready to quit. I said, 'Oh yes, why I just love it here, the main thing is of all the places I have been, I'm glad I came here because this is the first time I have ever seen White folks waiting on Black folks! And you folks have all been so kind waiting on me and serving me my coffee.' That was the end of that. Honey, after that it was I would serve them and they would serve me. We all called each other by the first names and we became good friends. I had to figure out what could I do to get these people back to reality. That had not realized they were waiting on a *Black* person (starts laughing)."

The respondent is clever. She frames it and manipulates Whites into serving her and they didn't have an inclination as to what was going on. She clearly understood the situation and manipulated it to benefit her. African Americans understood in the total institution of Jim Crow that you had to develop strategies to outsmart the oppressor. A respondent in the Southwest recalls how they didn't care about Blacks in Jim Crow's total institution:

> I know at the time they didn't like Blacks to go to like down by Ocean Drive here and all back over in there like, you know, like you going back into Ocean Drive and you were driving I'm quite sure that a lot of the hotels and places that, they didn't want you to come in there and eat, but I never had that, you know, I never had that experience, not going into places and eat, until I got to be older. And then I know it was a place down, uh, uh, right down let me see, I think its right down this street here, over there where they got that new court house built, and they say that they didn't allow Blacks to come in there and eat, eat no food there. I don't know if they still go there because its uh, its a Confederate flag there. Pat you know where I'm talking about don't you? I use to hear people say they didn't allow Blacks to come up in there. And its probably a lot of places right here right now still don't like for us to come up in there, but I mean I don't trust them, like they got that biker's place down in town, they say they don't too much care for Blacks to come off in there. So, I don't want them type of places. I still leave them alone right today, its still a lot of prejudice going on, you can tell that when you walk in some of these hotels, right now, they don't care too much for Black folks.

The respondent clearly understands the restrictions of living in the total institution of Jim Crow. She poignantly brings attention to the similarities of today's society. She, like many other African Americans, is sheltered from the realities of Jim Crow by her family. She didn't learn the realities until she got older. According to Goffman (1986), this "pattern of socialization is illustrated by one who becomes stigmatized late in life, or learns late in life that he has always been discreditable" (1986: 34). A retired teacher in the Southwest recalls how a restaurant was a boundary you didn't cross:

> Well, we for the most part knew our place or what had been assigned as our place and we stayed within those boundaries. Now we would stretch it to some extent but not to the point to where it was going to cause serious harm or damage to your family members. When we went to restaurants we accepted that we had to go through back doors or we had to get it to go until the '60s when things started changing and we started the sit-ins and it became evident it was now or never. You were either going to force change then or things were just going to be worse so, yeah. There were incidents where they were lynching people in Mississippi, Alabama, and there were some cases in [names state] where they had

> done the same thing to Blacks for apparently no reason- all that we thought was that it was simply an unnecessary reason. So it caused us to be a closer-knit community because everybody was aware of what everybody was doing that you really would cover and watch each other's back. . . . . I think those people who were born in that era had an edge because we knew who the oppressor was and what the oppression was about. We knew the ramifications and the boundaries, so we tended to group together more so then now because a lot of things, it was overt, it was physical and now everything is written so if you are now not in a position to know about what is written then you are being harmed without even realizing it. So we knew what the dangers were and we were given strategies to overcome them.

The respondent gives a powerful assessment of the total institution of Jim Crow. According to the respondent, the African American community understood the boundaries, rules, and regulations of the total institution. Ironically, African Americans periodically pushed the boundaries being careful not to push too much because the consequences were dire. The collective psychological consequences of trauma, segregation stress syndrome, for African Americans didn't mean that you had to witness and/or personally experience the trauma. The respondent clearly states that they were aware of, "lynchings in Mississippi, Alabama, and other states."

Goffman (1986) states, ". . . sympathetic others is of course those who share his stigma. Knowing from their own experience what it is like to have this particular stigma, some of them can provide the individual with instruction in the tricks of the trade and with a circle of lament to which he can withdraw for moral support and for the comfort of feeling at home, ease accepted as a person who really is like any other normal person" (1986: 21). A retired teacher in the Southeast recalls her experiences in restaurants:

> I can remember that we automatically knew to go around to a place that was kind of like…it was a sitting area, it wasn't a bar, but it was stools. We could sit there and eat and order. But the White people were sitting at

> tables. They were sitting at tables and chairs. And we had to go in the side door.

The collective "we" is an indication that it included African Americans as an entire group. The respondent clearly indicates that African Americans understood their boundaries. According to Erikson (1994), "Boundaries are never a fixed property of any community. They are always shifting as the people of the group find new ways to define the outer limits of their universe. . . .Sometimes changes occur within the structure of the group which require its members to make a new survey of their territory—a change in leadership, a shift in mood" (1994:20). The boundaries for African Americans were static, depending on the mood of Whites and what they wanted African Americans were susceptible to forced removal from their land if Whites decided they wanted it. A retired teacher respondent in the Southwest recalls restaurants:

> Well, there are many times, when, we were traveling with our children in the early fifties, middle, early sixties during those days we did not have places for the Blacks to sleep when we traveled. We had to sleep in our cars and of course we always went to California to visit my husband's people and we would go in the summertime and take us a little vacation. And we would travel in our little Ford car, and knowing that we did not have no place to sleep or eat we always, we had two children, we would fix our lunch and we would have a lunch in our car. To carry us from [names state], at that time, to San Francisco, that's a long drive. And of course we would take foods that we could eat along the road then we would stop along the road to buy food to carry us along. And for our sleeping we would stop at a roadside park, stop and let the children get out and rest, and play around. And then we would wash up and well of course, we always had our clothes, you know to change clothes in the, cause it would take us at least two days traveling in the car. And we would do most of the driving at night, and I would, my husband would drive so far, and I would drive so far and sometimes we would see a place that we could stop at a café and go to the back door and get a cup of coffee, or something at night especially to refresh us to continue to drive. But we always stopped at a grocery store and bought our little food for the children to keep us going to until we made it to California. [LA: You

> didn't really use restaurants?] We didn't use it cause we couldn't go in there. [LA: And none of your family have experienced problems today with, um, discrimination?] I don't recall, because most of the times we would always, we traveling we would go prepared, cause we knew there were some places that they would not let you come in, and we didn't bother about that, we just went prepared.

The respondent shares how African Americans had to plan carefully their 'vacations' from the total institution of Jim Crow. We again see the 'we', which is representative of the collective. They, with their children, drove at night to ensure a certain degree of secrecy. They knew that they wouldn't be able to stop at hotels and restaurants to refresh themselves. In spite of the restrictions, African Americans pushed forward to ensure that they could visit their families and friends that didn't live in the total institution of Jim Crow.

Frontstage Water Fountains

A respondent in the Southwest recalls water fountains and "White Only" signs:

> You know I never really went to too many of them because they had, let me put it this way, when I was coming up the sign said Black or colored, and White. You didn't go in the White one, no. You went in the colored door. When uh, you needed water that fountain there (points into an open space) said for colored or Negro and that fountain said for Whites. If you went to that White one, you might get beat down or put in jail.

The respondent recalls that not following the rules and regulations of Jim Crow resulted African Americans being hurt physically or jailed. In addition, there were African Americans that couldn't read and unfortunately, they inadvertently drank from the wrong water fountain. A respondent in the Southwest recalls "White Only" signs:

> There was a large hotel called "William Hotel," I never will forget this, and this William Hotel had a lobby with uh, an electric drinking fountain, where the water stayed cool, but they had a sign up there "White Only," and this was on the other side of the tracks where we wasn't even suppose

> to be, but me and my sister, she was two years older then me, we'd have to go to the post office to get our mail, there wasn't delivery, we didn't have any mailmen at that time. Instead of us going back home, we'd go across that track and go over there to that hotel just to drink out of that fountain. Nobody never said anything to us, but we'd go home and tell my mother about it and tell my daddy about it, he say, "Yall don't you do that, stay away from over there, cause some of them over there, somebody over there one of these days will say something to or do something to you, then I become involved." He, my daddy, was telling us this. Well, it didn't bother me any because we wanted that cold water (laughs). And I didn't really understand what he said until after I got grown. It would of involved him if they would of hit us or do something to us cause he would of have to do something about it, about that for his kids. Being in a little small town like that, they would of did something to him, so he knew what he was talking about, but I didn't understand it. So, we didn't do it all the time, but every so often we'd get brave enough and we would do that, we'd go to, we had to, when we go to the post office to get the mail, we would just go a little bit farther over and you cross this track and there was a big ole hotel, big nice lobby and everything, and we go in there and we drink water and this and that, then we come out and go on home. They'd look at us, but like I say, had they said anything we just going to run anyway, we knew what we were going to do (laughs), so, but then after awhile we'd get brave enough to talk about it at home and that's how my daddy found out, you know. "Boy yall stop doing that cause if they say, they do something to you over there or anything, then I got to go over there and try to find out what, then I'm going to be in trouble, and we all going to be in trouble." Didn't mean anything to me then, but as I got older and wind up with kids, then I said, "Well, now…" It wasn't happening then, but I realized what he was talking about. So, but all and all, and also in that little town we learned our place.

The respondent understood that African Americans had to know the rules in the total institution of Jim Crow when you were young. African American parents skillfully taught their children how to negotiate the total institution while at the same time tried to protect them from some of the trauma that came along with growing up in a system in which they could be injured. Clearly, some African Americans didn't understand the system until they were adults. African American parents finagled a fine line with their

children. In the narrative, it's clear that African American parents didn't tell their children the entire story in terms of the consequences for the children and the entire family. Young African American children didn't understand the consequences of their occasional "cross [over] the tracks." A respondent in the Southwest recalls water fountains:

> Well all I can say is, they stayed in they place and I stayed in mine. . . .Oh, Negro, you stay in your place, you want something you go to the back door and get it, don't come in here cause you ain't got no business in here. They had water fountains for the colored people, water fountains for the White folk. You go to town we had places we can go eat, where it was divided place, you come in, you go down this-a-way, and White folk go down this-a-way, sat there and eat, mmm hmm, you have to pay the man, and go on about your business. . . . Other then hard times that's about it, hard times. I'll tell you now, that's something my parents never did talk about too much around the children. What they talked about, they talked about it with grown folks and we didn't sit there and listen to their conversation. They talk about it, you get up and go on out there somewhere and play. Yeah, you didn't sit around there when no grown folks was talking, you go out there somewhere and find you a place to play, they want you, they need you, they'll call you. When you getting ready to eat, way out there they'll call you to come on and eat….you get through eating, you gone on outside. It was a hard time, but we made it.

According to the respondent, in the total institution of Jim Crow, children, in most instances, were subjected to group folk's conversations. However, in spite of what their parents thought children knew that things were hard for them and their families. In addition, as another respondent mentioned earlier, young African Americans watched their parents' actions and got a 'sense' of what was happening from those observations.

A retired teacher in the Southwest recalls drinking from the wrong water fountains:

> It was at the [names store] when I accidentally drank out the wrong water fountain. We had a [names store] that was located where the [names building] is now located. And we went to the store and I got thirsty and I just went to the first fountain I got to and they had signs that said "For

> Whites" and I just ignored the sign. But my experience was not as bad as some may have encountered prior to me because a gentleman by the name of Mr. Darcey, who was a White man, warned me about drinking and sort of shouldered me as I ran off. [*Did you get in trouble by your parents?*] No, I was warned not to do it again. [*Did it ever happen again?*] Yeah, intentionally but I didn't get caught. [Laugh]

A retired mail clerk recalls water fountains in Jim Crow's total institution:

> I notice we lived on the North side of town and when we came to town, we was thirsty for water, and we went downtown to the courthouse to get a drink of water. And we got told off, the White folks told us that "us niggers drink" [laughs] that was a real shocker. That's when I, we first knew. I was sixteen at that time.

In both narratives, it is clear that in the total institution of Jim Crow African American children pushed the boundaries. The children didn't realize the dire consequences for resisting the system in their own small ways. One respondent states, "Yeah, intentionally but I didn't get caught." He knew that he shouldn't do it; he just became more clever with his defiance of the total institution. In addition, one respondent states "I was sixteen before I knew the differences and how Whites treated African Americans." Again, African American parents in their efforts to protect their children from the trauma of the total institution of Jim Crow found ways to warn them without telling them all the atrocities that were happening in their communities. A respondent in the Southwest recalls water fountains:

> He told the judge named Johnny Smith was the judge then, he said, "If ya'll don't have those signs moved in 30 days I'm going to take you to court. He told them to have those signs down before 30 days and they did too. He said, "Because when I go to turn that water on to drink, this water fountain is clear." He said it was clear! It's not White. He said the same about these restrooms. "You got White and Black you don't see no tax White and Black on the tax it's the same." (mumbles) I can't think of the name but I believe it's Friar came in here and went to all these schools, he brought his cousin, our books were outdated. And he went and checked

> on it and some of them got so mad some White folks got mad, one minister stood up and said, "I don't see why," he said, "I don't know why" (mumbles) this bookstore right here on the corner of Jefferson and Clark here a White man had that store and so he said, "We been treating you Darkies good all your life why ya'll going to push for integration?" One minister got up and said, "Were not pushing we just want some of our schools to be somewhat good we've been buying your groceries down through the years put you where you are now you want to step on us! We tired. We are tired."

The stress of dealing with the total institution of Jim Crow is clear in this respondent's recollection of African Americans fighting for equality. The respondent recalls how Whites didn't understand and thought that they had been good to the "Darkies." African Americans made it clear that they wanted access to more resources for the benefit of their children. A respondent in the Southwest recalls water fountains with "White Only" signs:

> And they would have signs, "for Whites"…then they have water fountains in public places the same way. As I was growing up, in that one store I told you about, at the counter…in that store they had water fountains and one had a sign for Whites and one for colored. Back then people were so ignorant that people thought that if you were to drink out of the same fountain it would some how hurt you, they had it all like that. As I grew up, same for the restrooms. If they had one for us, it was nasty. And we had a separate school system. It was segregated, although they, the law, the federal government outlawed school segregation in 1954 but it went on for a long time. Because in [names state], in my home town they built two schools, two high schools, one on the east and one on the west side. The architecture on our school looked better, however inside the school, the libraries and all them places, the equipment, the technical stuff like woodworking, all of that stuff was outdated. All of it was inadequate, yeah we had the big fancy building, but the books and the teachers and the curriculum we came up short. We came up short. I was interested in auto mechanic back then, and we spent three hours a day in that mechanic class. We had the best instructor, he was a mechanical engineer, he was Black, we had all Black teachers. But we didn't have the modern equipment needed to learn to leave high school and hit the road running out there as a mechanic. One evening when school closed, we went over to the White school and looked through the window at the

> shop, and they had all the state of the art equipment, all of it. We were lucky if we had jack. So consequently, when this White boy finished three years of auto mechanic school he would go out there, open a shop if he wanted to. He didn't have to go to trade school no more. If he needed to know anything else, he could learn it at the shop he worked at. We didn't have any of the modern equipment, so when we finished high school, we needed to go on to trade school just to be on par with this guy. Now that's what he had, separate but not equal. The books that we were getting, even in elementary school had pages missing unless you folks bought you the books, but even then they were the White folks, they would even sell you books that had missing pages; the White kids had them first. Once the White's kids were done, tearing them up we got them. And our parents were paying the same taxes as everyone else, and what's worse, our parents were working much harder to get the money. Because they just had two pay scales, they were not allowed to pay a Black person the same amount as a White person, it wasn't going to happen. White person side by side, was able to live as middle class, while the Black person was in poverty. He couldn't afford what the White man could afford, and they were doing the same job everyday, side by side. That was how difficult it was. That's how it was at school; they made sure that it was that way, that we were left behind. It was structured; they made sure it was that way. Then when in the later years, what I laugh at, it was my home State, and I don't like folks living on welfare. But then I look back, and why are they complaining? They structured it that way, they didn't want them to have education.

The respondent gives a powerful assessment of the total institution of Jim Crow. We see the unjust impoverishment and the unjust enrichment in the narrative. African Americans understood that they were getting second-class citizenship which included them having less access to the resources that Whites and other Americans claim to have in this country.

Light-Skinned Blacks: Negotiating White Spaces

Frontstage: Passing- Caught In-Between

A respondent in the Southwest recalls the dilemma and challenges of being light-skinned. She was asked: [Did you ever feel that you didn't belong in the sense that you weren't White but you weren't dark, so you didn't fit in?]

> A lot of times. A lot of times. And usually it was, you know, it was less light when we went to high school, the majority of the kids were dark skinned. From a private school it would be like only twelve to a class and when you'd get to the high school the kids would come from Hardin, you know, different areas. And so they had a majority of the dark-skinned kids and so you always stood out, you know, I guess it made you feel just as bad as if you was a dark person in a bunch of light people as a light person was in a lot of dark people. . . . So it was just, the worst part is seeing other people being treated unfairly and that you couldn't do nothing about it because you were, you know, they thought you was White.

A respondent in the Southwest considered herself a double victim because she was light-skinned:

> By being light-skinned you sort of like a double victim. Your own, Black people don't want to be with you because you too light and White people don't want to be with you because you so close to, they can't tell. And it's just sort of like you in the middle of the road, you on the fence. And you have to pick your friends real careful and, but it's so hurtful if you with a White person and they say a Black joke or a racist and they thinking that you light and you know, you don't know what to say, whether you should speak out or what. So it puts you like in the middle, on the fence, you don't know which way to go. It was just the way it was, you know, when things get a certain way you just, you know, if it's not hurting you, you just keep on going but the people that's being hurt by it, that's the ones that really speak out. But some places it's more segregated and some places it's more integrated. Like I didn't, Dr. Smith lived by us since I was born and we didn't know the difference, you know, we didn't know he was White, we didn't know we was colored. You just didn't know it and everybody where we lived were all light-skinned so you just really didn't, all my daddy's brothers got all reddish hair, you know, were Irish, not Irish, Italian. So it was just, the worst part is seeing other people being

> treated unfairly and that you couldn't do nothing about it because you were, you know, they thought you was White.

This respondent shares how class and race went hand in hand in some aspects of the total institution of Jim Crow. The respondent talks about being a 'double victim.' If you are with Whites and they are joking about African Americans, it is hurtful. The trauma of being torn between two worlds. According to Goffman (1986), an individual with "discreditable stigma"—deviant traits that are easily concealable may potentially avoid the discrediting. The individual can pass—which is the process by which the individual with the discreditable stigma—attempts to conceal their stigma and, therefore, fit in with the 'normal' people. In addition, the individual who is passing, attempts to avoid contact with individuals who have the symbols of stigma—Black skin. Thus, the individuals lead a double life. A respondent in the Southwest recalls the different treatment that she received because she was light-skinned:

> She was pretty, you know, she's the youngest in the family so I guess she must have been about like David's age, about seven or eight. But they made sure, they'd tell you that they didn't have a bathroom and somebody light-skinned would come in, and they'd have a bathroom. And that really did hurt, it would make you both feel bad because a lot of light-skinned people are colored and a lot of dark-skinned, and a lot of times you would a dark-skinned person and they'd tell you, you could do something and then they'd tell the dark skinned person that they can't do it. Not knowing that you two are together.

As we saw earlier in the narratives that African Americans with light-skinned were given better treatment by Whites. Again, this stems back from the total institution of slavery and continue in the total institution of Jim Crow. The light-skinned family members had the burden of being torn between two worlds in a sense.

Light-Skinned Blacks and Buses

A respondent in the Southwest recalls getting on the bus, coping with, and negotiating being light-skinned and sitting in the back:

> On the bus, that bus would, the bus was the worst. Because you had to go to the back of the bus and if you didn't, being light-skinned, if you didn't go back and somebody knew you, you'd be passing and you would be shamed. So we just run on to the back of the bus.

As a respondent mentioned in an earlier narrative, "my grandfather was half Black and half White. You couldn't tell that he wasn't White. It didn't matter if you had one drop of Black in you, you was Black." Here we see this African American woman struggling with where she belongs. This respondent is clearly stating the shame and stigma associated with passing for White. You could pass but there was the fear that if someone in the community recognized you then it was shameful. This helps to explain why many African Americans that decided to pass left town so that people in the Black community wouldn't recognize them. In addition, few African Americans during the many interviews mentioned in their narratives the shame associated with having children that were clearly the children of the oppressor.

Frontstage: Passing in Stores

A respondent in the Southwest recalls going to the store in Jim Crow's total institution:

> Because I would go in a store and you could, you know, the stores… the little stores you could get your dress and go and try it on and I had gone in and I had tried on a dress and something else. And this Black lady was in the store. . .lookin' at some stuff and she was picking it up and the man that owned the store came in and said, "Don't be touchin' the items, you gonna get 'em dirty." Aww that just hurt me so much and here I am. I don't know…I can't remember I don't know what I was thinking…if he

> knew that I was colored or not. But here I am trying on the dress, and the girdle, and all that stuff…you know, intimate stuff. And here's this lady that's just touching it and he told her she's gonna dirty it. Look like that lump got in my throat and it just look like I couldn't go back in, it just would hurt so bad. It just got to me. [*Do you remember the reaction of the woman that was there?*]. She just acted nonchalant like if it didn't hurt her and just walked out. But I was in the dressing room and they just had that little, you know, curtain and I could see through it. I saw her there during that, you know. But I was looking at the dress that I had put on and it just hurt to know how they had spoke to her.

The respondent recalls the stress of being light-skinned in the total institution of Jim Crow. In the minds of Whites, Blacks were not clean. This respondent emphasizes the burden of being light-skinned. She states, "That just hurt me so much." An aspect of segregation stress syndrome is the helplessness associated with differential treatment, which strikes blows at the self-esteem of African Americans. The respondent states, "She act nonchalant, however the respondent knew what the woman must be feeling, the pain of living in a total institution. Goffman (1986) states, "the stigma to spread from the stigmatized individual to his close connections provides a reason why such relations tend either to be avoided or to be terminated where existing" (1986: 30). The respondent continues here recollection of her visit to department stores:

> We went in at [names store]'s and I had Anita was with me and she had bought a few items in the Junior Department. And went to the Women's Department and we asked the lady if it was alright if she takes, you know, the clothes from one department to another and when I would pay for my stuff I would pay for hers. And so we went in and I found some clothes and I was tryin' them on and when I came back, Anita was waitin' for me, you know, by the dressing room. When I came back she didn't have anything on her arms. And I said, I had a couple of pieces that, you know, I tried on and wanted to buy when I came out. I said; "Well where's your. . .where's your things?" She said, "The lady came and took them off, took them off my arm and said that I couldn't…that I couldn't take clothes from one department to another." "Didn't you tell her the lady said it was alright and that I was gonna pay for it?" So when we got to the thing she

> said uh…that she had the clothes up there. So I was gonna go pay for it and she said, "No, I don't want it." I said, "Fine." So the lady was gonna, I said, "Well, she don't want…" She said, "You buy them, I'm not wearing them, you can give them to Goodwill. I'm not wearing them." But she didn't tell me that until after I had paid for it. But what I should of did was go to the manager and uh, but I don't know what was the lady's idea that she couldn't, you know, because she was colored that she couldn't, that she was gonna steal the clothes. You know, they just watch you walk around and not use the restroom, that's the big thing. We use to buy all the, for the kids, we'd go get all their gym clothes, suits, all the paper [goods]. We'd spend, you know, over hundred dollars just on paper, just little things that they needed for school. We went in and had the buggy all loaded and Anita needed to use the bathroom. And so went, we was at the checkout. So I said at the lady, "Could you tell me where's the restroom?" She said, "We don't have a restroom. If you want to go the restroom you have to go to the courthouse or to a filling station." I said, "You don't know if they happen to sell school supplies at the filling station?" Well, I said, "We'll just try." So we just, I said, "Leave the basket. Leave that." And I said, "We have to go to the filling station or the courthouse so when you to use the bathroom. And I said, "We not here walking. We have a car. We can just go to [names town] and pick up what we need if they don't provide bathrooms for the customers. We went on and go to the filling station, well you could go to the filling station not that long ago. And she used the bathroom and we did go, we went to, that next weekend we went to [names town] and bought all the school supplies. I happened to go in by myself one day and the manger was there. And I told him what had happened. I said, "You see my children spend their allowances in here buying all the little necklaces and little jewelry, you know, I don't know what they'd buy all kind of little make-up and stuff. And I said, "When I asked for her to use the bathroom, the lady sent me to the filling station." And I said, "If you saw that basket with all that school supplies in it that was mine. And we walked out. And I said…he said, "Well if that ever happens again, just let me know. I said, "It's not gonna happen again because, you know, they all out of school now."

This respondent crystallizes in the recollection how African Americans who were light-skinned were treated differently than dark-skinned African Americans. It was common to have African Americans in the same families that pigmentation was extreme due to the systematic rape of Black women by White men; a topic I will cover extensively in

the next chapter. The respondent understood the rules of the total institution of Jim Crow; the lighter your were the harder it was for Whites to differentiate whether you were African American or not. Consequently, lighter skinned African Americans were allowed more 'privileges,' than their darker-skinned family members were. The respondent mentions that this incident happened before the children were going to enter school for the beginning of the school year. Later in the narrative we see that the respondent goes back to speak with the manager and she mentions that the children were out of school now. In most instances, that means that months had passed before the respondent got an opportunity to have her say about the incident. The stress of the traumatic experience and the inability of the respondent to stand up and let her feelings are known to the manger weighed on her mind. The psychological cost of discrimination and racism for African Americans as a collective have yet to be measured by the larger society.

Frontstage: Passing in Restaurants

A respondent in the Southwest recalls eating in restaurants:

> We were hungry and we went out and uh...it's like they had…and my brother had told me I don't want y'all…you couldn't go in the front of a restaurant, you had to go to the back door. And we bought cookies and lunch meat in the grocery store until I didn't think I could…just not to go in the restaurant because we were, you know, I didn't want to go to the back door and she was pregnant, you know, you just don't want to get your feelings hurt. The restaurant that I worked at, anybody that was colored would come in, oh they would usher them out…oh they'd put ya out. Even though I was colored in there it just hurt to see them, you know, talk about other people because they didn't know that we were, you know, Black.

The emotions of discrimination are powerful. The respondent states, “you just don’t want to get your feelings hurt.” The stress associated with living in the total institution of Jim Crow. The respondent is light-skinned and as another respondent mentioned, “it hurt to see them, you know talk about other [Black people] because they didn’t know that we were you know, Black. A respondent in the Southeast jokes about how Whites didn’t know she was Black:

> At the theater we would go to the back. And we had to go in the balcony; the colored had to go up in the balcony and, you know, Whites down. By working at the restaurant. . .we were light-skinned and they didn’t know we were colored. But Mr. Jefferson, he knew we were. Well in fact he had…that was…he had all different races. He had an Indian girl, a Mexican girl, my sister and I, and then they had a Black-skinned girl was there. And everybody that would come in thought it was just so, you know they couldn’t believe that and they’d come in and try to say, you know, bet who was who. And uh a lot of times they would ask me, you know, who was the…who was the colored…who was the colored girl working here. And they’d you know, it would be me. And a lot of times they would ask me out on a date and I would tell them: “You know we gonna have a hard time holding hands. I’ll be on the balcony and you’ll be down stairs [laughing].”

Again, we see the contradictions of the total institution of Jim Crow. It was difficult for Whites to recognize that she was Black. In the total institution of Jim Crow similar to the institution of slavery, ‘one-drop of Black blood’ constituted you being Black in the mind of Whites. The respondent and other African Americans that were light-skinned in the total institution of Jim Crow and had to live in two worlds; being Black and passing for White had a stressful and difficult time psychologically.

Frontstage: Light-Skinned People Got Away with More

A 92-year-old male respondent in the Southwest states that his wife gets away with speaking her mind because she is light-skinned:

> No, no I don't see how me and my wife from a situation that I can not handle, I could handle but it would mean fighting, and I would get put in jail cause my wife is aggressive. And sorry to say she's not only aggressive she's lighter in skin and that is another problem we've got going you see. Cause the lighter Black person got it better and so if I'm going to have a trouble with White folk that's going to be an argument I send her! [laughs] Now if the thing get to rough then I'm there for the physical confrontation. But she can holler and shout and cause (unclear) and get by with it, you know if I do it I know where I'm going first thing, see now until that time comes waiting is the name of the game. Now you young folks can maybe use that as a strategy or wherever you go or wherever you walk into what is the name of the game? See and that's the way I get by with it.

The respondent understood that his light-skinned wife could get away with more than he could in the total institution of Jim Crow. In the total institution, in some instances, women were able to resist and fight back against the system. However, that was not the case in every situation. The literature is clear, African American women suffered an enormous amount of racial violence in the total institution of Jim Crow. A respondent in the Southeast recalls Whites referencing her light-skinned:

> Some of these things, I know first hand because of our mixed heritage. I had doctors tell me that one of the things that I had he had never seen anybody of my complexion, but you see I'm not responsible for the fact that my grandmother and grandfather, well, one of them was enough, but some people consider you Black no matter if you've got a drop of Black in you.

The respondent shared that she had a White grandfather and a Black grandmother. She stated in her interview that her grandfather married his grandmother. She knew that some people had babies by White men and weren't married. But she mentioned several times that her grandparents were married. She goes on to mention the 'one drop rule.' If you had one drop of African American 'blood' you were considered Black.

Frontstage: What Color Is Your Blood?

A respondent in the Southwest remembers her employer's wife:

> Mr. Price's wife was real prejudiced. And she always would try to pick issues with us. If anybody came in and said: "Oh, you are so pretty." And she would say, "I beg your pardon, she's colored." You know, it would just really, they wouldn't ask her, you know. It's like you couldn't be colored and be pretty. . . .I found out why her [Mrs. Price] mother was so prejudiced because her grandmother was prejudiced. In the afternoon when we would get in our homework and the other little kids, children came in to meet the little girl, her grandmother would tell them: "She's colored." And they would look at me like huh. So when the old lady would, she would be: "Huh, if you cut yourself, what color are you gonna bleed? Are you colored on the inside?" So they couldn't figure out why I was colored. I said: "You think I'm gonna cut myself for you to see what color I bleed, I bleed the same color as you." . . . .Anybody came in, the grandmother would have to go and announce I was colored.

Again, we see reference to the 'blood' in this narrative. The respondent acknowledges that her blood was the same as Whites. In addition, she mentions that in the minds of Whites' you couldn't be colored and pretty. The African American community didn't mention that there was a certain degree of shame that African American women felt when they were raped and bore the evidence of the rape, a biracial child. Throughout the African American community, women would give their children to family members to take care of. Unfortunately, they had to hide the truth of the rape. In addition, the African American community, in many instances, ostracized the women who had children from these rapes. During the research, some African American men repeatedly stated that Black women were having affairs and sleeping with White men for favors. However, I will show in the upcoming chapter how pervasive rape was in the African American community.

Frontstage: White Spaces

Frontstage: Parks and Benches

In the total institution, for Blacks, the list of restricted public spaces is inexhaustible. The list included restrictions on water fountains, public parks, buses, benches, pools, restrooms, restaurants, and stores. In a total institution, "A respondent in her sixties resisted in a public restricted area:

> I know one time; my grandmother took me to go to (names a park). That was a park for Whites. My grandmother decided she was going to take me to the park that day. There they had a little wadding pool, I got in, she told me to get in the pool, and there sure enough I did. Finally, the warden came over and told me, "You gone have to go." She said, "Why?" He said, "See because, this pool is for Whites. You have to leave!"

There were spaces in the total institution that were off limits to Blacks, "unless the restricted were specifically with an authorized [White person]" (Goffman 1961:230). Another respondent in her seventies recalls an incident with her grandmother and a park bench:

> My grandmother and her friend came, had an occasion to come to [names town] once and we were at the courthouse and the benches that were in the park were for the White people. Well, my grandmother's friend felt higher and she sat down on the bench but my grandmother said to her, "Ms. Frayshee you know you are not supposed to be sitting on that bench, that's for the White people." Ms. Frayshee said, "But I'm tired. Oh I'm just going to sit here a few minutes." As soon as she sat down then a White man came along and told her to get up that she wasn't supposed to be sitting on that bench. She got up and we left.

Several respondents shared similar stories of how, if everyday Whites—without authority—told you to do something and you refused; they would assault you, or kill you

to get you to comply. It does not matter if you are a visitor in a total institution; you are bound by the rules. If you fail to comply, you too, can suffer the consequences.

Frontstage Contemporary Consequences

The practice and trauma of frontstage attacks has continued into contemporary times. The South Florida Sun-Sentinel reported that a "Black great-grandmother was beaten by two young White men in a park in Boca Raton, Florida. The 65-year-old woman was going to a restroom in the park when she was hit from behind. When she fell to the ground, the men rolled her over and punched her in the face. Her attackers called her a "nigger" and told her African Americans were not welcome in the park" (South Florida Sun-Sentinel, 2-2-10). The long-term psychological damage of surviving the total institution of Jim Crow is reignited when the survivors are reminded of the past when contemporary incidents arise. When individuals are traumatized it doesn't take much to reignite their memories and fears about particulars events that caused the initial trauma (Kira et al. 2010).

Frontstage Trauma: Stolen Land, Church Burnings, and Lynchings

Reflecting on the brutality routinely supporting segregation, this man cautiously describes the severe physical and psychological injuries suffered by most racialized African American families. Historically, White men under the cover of night raped not only African American women but, according to one respondent, Whites also reportedly raped and sodomized African American boys and men--an aspect of total institution of Jim Crow that rarely is discussed in the social science literature. In addition, African

Americans citizens did resist, thereby risking more physical, spoken, and other violence, including the burning of churches, homes, and bodies.

A retired nurse recalls how her aunt was living in a home that Whites deemed to be nice and how that leads to collective, physical violent actions:

> My aunt came here to visit us and they set the house on fire and they burned him [cousin] up in the house, when he tried to get out the window, they pushed him back in the house. They just nasty and mean. . . . Black people, weren't suppose to live in no, really nice area like that. She was living on this lake, and they wanted it and, and they probably knew that, she was here in [names town], and, so they went there and he was, cause they left him home by himself. My cousin, he was a young man. . . .And they just burned. . .the house down and burnt him up in the house. She left that place. She didn't want nothing else to happen. . . .They know who did it, but wasn't nothing they can do about it. All the White people, they stuck together. . . .Back in the forties. Just like Rosewood. They burned him alive.

Collective White jealousy made the hopes of attaining the American dream dangerous and in some cases impossible. With sadness in her voice and tears in her eyes, she describes how White jealousy turned her family's housing dream into a deadly sequence of events. This is not an isolated incident, several respondents shared similar stories of how, if Whites wanted a property, they would assault or kill to get it. Rosewood is an African American town in Florida that was destroyed in the 1930s by a White mob that killed numerous residents. Note as with the case of Rosewood an undocumented number of African Americans throughout the South, suffered physical and material injury. Unfortunately, it was a common occurrence in the total institution of Jim Crow for African Americans to lose their lives, their property, and their family members to racial violence at the hands of Whites. The actual number of lost lives, property, and families remain undocumented and uncompensated, to the present day.

They Burned a Cross and My Mother Went Crazy!

A respondent in the Southwest recalls a cross being burned on his front lawn:

> Oh yes, my mom owned a mom and pop café. At the time city ordinance said that you had to have light-pole in front of such a place. It was just a light at the top of a pole. Well where our property ended was some White folks living; there was a double tenant house. One of the White men approached my mother and told her that the light bothered him at night. She told him, this is what she told me, "you go inside your house and pull your shades down it wouldn't bother you." He didn't want to see her, that was the underlying cause of him coming over. She told him what she had to tell him. Well the consequence of that was he got his plans and friends, back in that day they would get in their cars and put on their brigades and ride into your property and burn crosses or something like that, that was their scare tactic. They burned a cross on our property. . . .My mom, well she recognized the car that belonged to one of the neighbors, he had bought his car in that little parade, and she confronted him about it. She went down and confronted him with a gun and told him what would happen the next time he messed with her. I found out this later, I saw her talking to the guy, I was 8 or 9. Later I asked her, she had a brown paper bag when she went down there, he came to his fence and she talked to him for about 30 minutes I guess. I asked her later and she told me that she had a gun in that bag. I wasn't close enough to see the gun, but several times I could see that she would move her hand in and out of that bag, she was showing the man her gun. She told me that if he was to come around again, she was going to let of those bullets pierce his skin. And there were no more, there was nothing else said about it. They didn't bother us anymore. She was one of those that they called "crazy," she was labeled as being a "crazy nigger." That was the only real confrontation I ever seen…something they had done. I actually saw that cross. My mom actually called the cops and the police came after that. They kicked down the cross, I guess they wrote some kind of report whatever, but that was the end of that. Probably some of them where in the parade that night. Either they knew the people or were at the next meeting with them. But they knew not to come back. My mother told that man that if the Klan ever came back that she was going to shoot him first, he only lived two places down. She was going to get to him before she died. That was just the way she was made up. But they stayed their distance. We didn't have any problems.

The respondent shares the story of one of the symbols of oppression in the total institution of Jim Crow, a burning cross. Whites had strategies that they used to force

African Americans to do what they wanted them to do. Again, we see how young the respondent was when he saw the cross burning on his front lawn. The psychological trauma of the experience in the total institution of Jim Crow can clearly lead to segregation stress syndrome. The respondent states, Whites thought his mother was a, crazy nigger." In the minds of Whites, she would have to be if she was willing to defend herself and her family.

In the Southwest, a man in his late fifties recalls stories of African Americans losing their land and lives to jealous Whites:

> My grandmother said, "At one time a lot of Blacks owned the land that is now owned by Whites and that they were forced to sell their land." Those who did not sell lost their lives. Or the land was taken from them by means of taxation and indebtedness that they had incurred and they weren't aware that they were incurring. . . . Some of them were killed to take the land; they [Whites] killed some of them to take the land. . .Some drowning[s] that were later said accidental but they didn't kill them accidental. I wasn't suppose to hear it because I wasn't suppose to be around when adults were talking. . . . I overheard them talking about a lady who refused the advances of a White man and how they [Whites] nearly destroyed her because she refused. I heard they mutilated her. [Long pause and look of disgust].

As in the Southeast, this respondent recalls the land of African Americans stolen by Whites through an array of techniques. Whites, as in this narrative, would drown African Americans to steal their land. The mutilation of African American women for refusing the advances of White men was also a common occurrence in the total institution of Jim Crow. This respondent, due to racial violence, is unintentionally inflicted with psychological injuries. He shakes his head in disgust as he recalls how he heard the news of this vicious attack on an African American woman who resisted. Social scientist have proven that exposure to "second-hand information such as, hearing about rapes, killings,

or racist crimes that victimize others via several methods including hearing may cause secondary traumatic stress, anger, sadness, and grief" (Bryant-Davis and Ocampo 2005:489-490). The incidents positively relate to the possibility of suffering with segregation stress syndrome.

Frontstage: Lynchings Trees and the KKK

Whites' regular use of lynching as a repressive technique brought death to thousands of Black men, women, and children. On average, a Black man, woman, or child was murdered nearly once a week between 1882 and 1930 (Tolnay and Beck 1992: ix). The lynching created "a poisoned atmosphere, one that permeated life far beyond those counties where a lynching had actually taken place" (Ayers 1992:158). African Americans were, in many instances, tortured before they were lynched; their fingers, ears, and other body parts were removed and they were stabbed, beaten, and then burned (Tolnay and Beck 1992; Brundage 1997; Allen, et al. 2005). Goffman (1961) states, "in addition to personal defacement that comes from being stripped of one's identity kit, there is a personal disfigurement that comes from direct and permanent mutilations of the body such as brands or loss of limbs . . .[and] provides a basis for anxieties about disfigurement" (1961: 21). White mob lynchings of Black men, women, and children were common during Jim Crow, as we see in this elderly respondent's painful recollection:

> The Ku Klux Klan. . . .If you had sons, you were just frightened. . .People were hung right here. . . . It was a place called Lynch Hammock. They would take people out and lynch them. They would take those kids out and you would find a Black body hanging any day. Any time. People were frightened. There was nothing they could do. If you talked too much then the younger Black would go and, you know, tell on the others.

> It was terrible. . . .In order to keep a lot of confusion down and sleep well at night and try to protect their boys, and protect their girls, they just had to accept it and be quiet about it. That's the way it was. People were afraid. People were afraid. If you had a few who weren't, you had no backup. . . .It was bad, but it was something that you grew up with.

Goffman (1961) states, "a standard irony in total institutions is giving nicknames to especially threatening or unpleasant aspects of the environment" (1961: 316). In Germany concentration camps, some called turnips the primary food source, 'German pineapples.' In prison, it was customary to call severe punishment cells, 'tea-gardens.' (1961: 317). In the total institution of Jim Crow, the trees that were utilized to murder, mutilate, and dismember thousands of African Americans were commonly referred to as "Lynch Hammock." Another respondent in the Southeast in her seventies describes how:

> [The KKK] . . . did use to hang people. …The last two, I know was [names two young men] . . . caught them with a White girl. I think they were fooling around with the girl all the time and she just got caught. . . . They hung them . . . . I don't know too much about it because they didn't put it in the paper, and I just heard mom and them talking about it in the house. They [Whites] just went, broke into the house, and just grabbed them while they was sleeping. They say that, the girl say that they raped her. [Was there a trial?] No. I might have been thirteen or fourteen ….Those boys were teenagers, they might have been about nineteen, twenty…They were young!

African Americans, young and old, in the Southwest were also familiar with the everyday acts of racial violence, in the form of lynchings. McGuire (2010) states, "White men accused [B]lace men of rape as part of a larger system of intimidation designed to keep [B]lacks subservient and submissive" (2010: xviii). An elderly woman in her eighties painfully recalls a lynching:

> There was a man, a Black man. He was a janitor, he cleaned up the place, and he went and told this White man that was so mean to me. . . .That he didn't have to treat me the way he was treating me. He [the White man]

> took and pushed me over one of the tables. . . he [Black man] got tired of him doing that, before I know it he leaned back and hit that White man and beat him up. It scared me so bad because I didn't know what he [the White man] was going to do to him. When the police come, he [the White man] had almost beat him [the Black man] to death. You know. So anyways, my parents raised enough money to get him out of jail. [Pauses, then starts to cry], somebody back then, you could go up and down the highway and see the Black boy hanging from the tree, and he was dead. They killed him on the tree. . . I didn't think that I could live to see somebody beat somebody like that man did and not [have anyone] do anything about it. Cries harder]. . . the White man, they took hot water, they boiled that water, and they put him in the water, and cooked him. How could somebody treat somebody, a human being, and just threw them in the pot, they had a big ol' pot they use to make soap out of it. And they just throw them in there [the pot]. Whenever you use to do stuff, you were dead. You couldn't do anything, you had to just stand there and watch them do him like that, and every time his head would come up like that, they pushed him right down in the pot. God brought us through all of that, he sure did. He brought us, God made for that person down there to die that day. When we got down there we pray, and we ask God to forgive him, because they didn't know what they was doing. It didn't help his family to see him tortured down there. . .it was a Black pot, a cast iron. . .they rejoiced. Can you believe that they [Whites] rejoiced about what they did to him in the Black pot, they [Whites] rejoiced.

The vivid details of an African American man being boiled in a pot, while his family watched, epitomized the atrocities of racial violence during legal segregation. The racial violence is collective, physical, and inflicts psychological trauma on individuals who witnessed it and heard about it. Clearly, this respondent's frequent crying, during the interview, demonstrates extreme symptoms of "segregation stress syndrome." The family of this African American man, "prayed and asked God to forgive him [the White man], because they [the White men] didn't know what they were doing." The willingness of African Americans to forgive Whites who committed such acts of racial violence during legal segregation is astounding. Goffman (1986), states, "Shame

becomes a central possibility, arising from the individual's perception of one of his own attributes as being a defiling thing to possess" (1986: 7). The respondent continues with her narrative and begins to exhibit another symptom of segregation stress syndrome:

> When you walk back into your back yard and see your grandfather hanging from an oak tree. (Cries harder) He still should have stayed in jail. Those were some hard times. . . .Back in those days, you could be standing back there, in your back yard, and see your grandfather and grandmother, and anybody in your family, hanging on a tree. And when you saw one hanging on a tree, they would come to the church real soon and they would set the church on fire, and kill all of the Black people, that was in the church. That wasn't nothing! To White people that was fun. And all you could do was stand there and look.

The narrative appears to shift to her grandfather, when she states, "To walk in the backyard, and see your grandfather hanging from an oak tree." Many African Americans, who survived the racial violence of the total institution of Jim Crow, use denial as a means to protect themselves emotionally and psychologically. These survivors use denial to help protect them from totally acknowledging their victimization (Bryant-Davis and Ocampo 2005:488). The respondent is not totally denying the collective racial violence however; there is a sense that she is combining two events in which one event involved her grandfather. The inflicting of physical and psychological injury is clear as well as the symptoms of "segregation stress syndrome." This respondent passed away within a month of this in-depth interview. Thus, we see the importance and urgency of documenting the experiences of African Americans who survived legal segregation. Another elderly woman, in her late sixties, in the Southwest, shares how she witnessed a lynching:

> The guy that was down there wasn't with us, but spoke to, [he] just said "Good evening" to a White girl, and she all freaked out and things went

> from there. She went screaming and yelling. . .like somebody killed her. Some other White guys came along and asked what was going on. . . and they took him right then and there, took him away, and hung him. Got the rope off the truck and just hung him right there in front of us and told us, This is what happens to ninnies who get out of line and speak to people their not suppose to speak-be spoken to." This happened a lot, throughout the south. . . It was something that was just the norm back in those days. I had brothers during that time that we always, *always,* ALWAYS begged them whatever you do; do *not* speak to White women.

The misconceptions about African American men and White women contributed to this man losing his life for saying, "Good evening." The White perpetrators warn the onlookers, which included the respondent, "This is what happens to ninnies who get out of line and speak to people their not suppose to speak to." The collective act of racial violence, physical, and spoken, threatens to inflict physical injury on the onlookers of this lynching. The psychological injury is clear as this respondent recalls emotionally that her brothers were "Always, ALWAYS begged not to speak to White women." When White perpetrators commit acts of racial violence and don't face criminal charges, they and their crime are officially sanctioned by the larger White society. An elderly woman in the Southwest remembers her mother telling her about a lynching.

> My mother told me that at one time she saw a [Black] man be lynched and they had dragged him…they had tarred and feathered him I think. And they had dragged him behind…I forgot if it was a vehicle. I don't know if it was a vehicle cuz she told me that they hadn't seen, you know, a long time ago they hadn't seen cars. And she said they had dragged…I don't know if it was from a horse or what …she said that was the horriblest sight she had ever seen in her life. She didn't tell me what the person had done.

Thus, White perpetrators believe that African Americans deserve to be raped, violated, and murdered. The failure of state, local, and federal judicial agencies to prosecute Whites for racial violence helped to sustain the racist institutions that exist to this present

day (Bryant-Davis and Ocampo 2005; Feagin 2006). A retired teacher in the Southwest recalls how Black men were beaten in the total institution of Jim Crow:

> My grandfather always told us that he had never had a bad encounter with White people. He was always cordial to them because he didn't want to get in trouble with them, because during those days they would invade the Black homes and take the Black man out and beat and kill him. And my father didn't want that to happen to him cause he had seen all of this in Atlanta, Georgia. So he would always keep himself in a position where he would not have to you know, meet with them, of course my father was the same way. He never had a bad encounter with the Whites, he always was cordial and they were nice enough, just like I had said before this was a nice place for the Blacks to live because they had not been lynching, beatin, and killin the Blacks and uh I had not that experience either when I was going to school. Because we were always separated and we were not you know trying to uh, push and uh I would say, push for integration at that time we didn't know too much about it. But we always wanted a better way of living, but we did that from the sweat of the brow we just worked hard to progress as far as we could go without having to you know fight and get our way through, what we were , you know, was trying to do. . . .There was one White man there that really didn't like Blacks to well; so he figured that you know, with me sitting here and there were some more Black men sitting there you should dismiss yourself and go on about your business. And of course, how the conversation started I don't know, but I do know that the man that started the fight was a White man with a Black man and he told him that "you think you are a smart nigger but your are not." And when he called him a nigger and of course this man told him "you come off of this porch and I will show you what kind of nigger I am." So when the Black man started off the porch, this was a little store, the White man kicked the Black man and of course the Black man beat the White man up. And immediately they took the Black man and put him in jail. That was a bad disturbance here, and of course the White man that did the kicking to the Black man was not an outstanding, uh, White man in the community. But the Black man was an outstanding man, therefore the White people, I guess you would call it, uh, came to the rescue of both men and told them to let the Black man out of jail because he is an outstanding Black man in the community. And I'm sure they told him, the White man is not really an outstanding man because he doesn't like Black people, his family has always been like that. So let's not harm the Black man let's just let him out and let's, uh, try to not have a racial disturbance in our community because we don't want that. Let's let him out and we will try to have peace and that's the only incident that I remember my father telling me; I

> suppose I was about 12 or 13 years old when this happened. And of course the Blacks were all getting geared up to come to his rescue, but the Blacks got together and they all came to an agreement that we do not want the disturbance in this community we want to always have peace and harmony. Now that's the only incident that I ever recall, and I've talked with, uh, several Blacks and Whites, my age and three or four older than I am about the incidents that happened to the Blacks, between the Blacks and Whites when they were coming up had they heard stories about how the Whites, uh, treated the Blacks, and the Blacks treated the Whites. And they said no this has always been a community of trying to have peace and harmony among the Whites and the Blacks. But the Blacks never received the best of anything during those days, like brand new books and things that would, uh, help the Blacks. They would give it to you but, you know it was on the low scale.

The respondent understands the rules and regulations of the total institution of Jim Crow. The respondent shares how people in the community just wanted peace; the Black man was an upstanding man. However, the White man was not an upstanding man yet, the Whites in the community stood up for his too. Goffman (1986) states, "persons who are 'normal' but whose special situation has made them intimately privy to the secret life of the stigmatized individual and sympathetic with it, and who find themselves accorded a measure of acceptance, a measure of courtesy membership in the clan" (1986: 28). Some of the oppressed in this narrative stood up for the African American because he had accomplished a certain degree of status in the total institution of Jim Crow.

A respondent, in the Southwest, recalls the frequency in which Black men were beaten and killed at the hands of Whites:

> In the community there was, there were several, a lot of Black people getting killed, Black people just being killed like someone killing a stray animal. It happened a lot. The one that stand out the most, there was an older man, a Black minister of sorts back in that time. He was known to everybody as Reverend… Reverend Jack. And he had a courtship with a lady, a Black lady in our neighborhood. His gentleman, I want to say he was in his late 60s or 70s. He had a girlfriend and he had a confrontation,

> he wasn't far from my house, she called the police and they came there and gunned him down just like he was an animal. And they claimed he had a gun, there was no evidence of that. And that was just one of many, many cases of such. And a Black could be having a squabble with his wife and they would go in and beat him up, brutalize him. He was just an ordinary man, he was angry and say something, and they would come up and instead of talking to him like a man they would be like "boy shut up," no man wants to hear this. Then they would beat him up and kill him. And claim that he was resisting arrest. This happened frequently throughout the South in those years. And it kept happening for a time even after I left. And it kept happening until really the Civil Rights Movement really picked up steam, and people started fighting back on large scales. Then it started to wean some, then the laws started to change, then folks started to be prosecuted for killing people. It hadn't been that long since they were getting away with it, a White cop killing a Black man, or a White person killing a Black person, they were getting acquitted. There was no consequence and that's on a general scale, largely throughout the South. I don't know to many personally that it happened to. But I remember that because it happened down the street from me and I was old enough to remember. I think I was in my teens. I could understand all of that, what went on. I knew him; he would walk by our house everyday. He had odd jobs; he would mow grass for people, trim trees. He was known throughout the community and it left a bitter taste afterwards.

The respondent shares how if you called the police to assist you the possibility of you or your family members being beaten or killed was real. In the total institution of Jim Crow, the agents of the state (police officers) were dangerous in the African American community. In the total institution of Jim Crow, not just Black men were killed. In many instances, Black girls were killed if they didn't do as White men wanted. A respondent in the Southwest recalls Black girls losing their lives at the hands of White men:

> I mean, I don't remember when it happened, I mean, I mean, cause they had the Ku Klux Klan all around, I mean they didn't want you around these places, I mean, like they, down in town, they still say Blacks can go in there to eat, but Blacks didn't want to go in there and eat, cause they didn't know if, if, if a, if a White man would of killed a Black person, wasn't going to be nothing did about it, it was always like that, if you Black, you stay on your part of town, if your White, you stay back out

> there with the Whites and Mexicans, and the White people didn't come on the street and cuss like that un-lesson they were going to be with some Blacks that was going to watch their backs. But then the rest of the time, hey, I mean, White people just stayed away. . .cause you didn't know when you were going to get killed. That's a one thing. Like one year, they found Stephanie Lincoln; they never did know who killed that girl. . . .They never did know who killed [names person], at the time they say she was going with a White man, I don't know, that's what we always heard, about Stephanie Lincoln. And they say they found her on the beach dead, and they never did…and we heard, and I went to school with Stephanie. And they never, they just said a White man killed her and left her on the beach, and they never did pursue it or nothing, sho did. And I remember a long time ago, they say it was a White man going with a Black girl, and she was going across Rhinebeck High School at the time, and I think they left her in the car and they dumped her on Rhinebeck's, I can remember something vaguely, and they dumped her on Rhinebeck's uh, uh, whatever it was, on they campus, and they say a White man did that and wasn't nothing done about that, and I remember that. You see, you got to be careful where you go, I don't know, I don't know what, if the girl was going with the White man he just took her body and dumped it on Rhinebeck's High School. [How did this affect the community?] I mean, you know, it made them mad, but what can they do? At the time, if you was a Black person and you told on a White person, you better be for sure, and if they do it, they didn't know if they were going to come back and kill you and blow your house up at that time or what, so you had to be really careful. . . I'm quite for sure it did affect somebody, you know, for a Black girl to come up dead on the beach, and Black people don't hardly go on no beach, Black people didn't go on the beach at that time.

In the total institution of Jim Crow, Black women were susceptible to being killed by Whites. The respondent shares, if you knew who the murder was, "there wasn't anything you could do about it." It was best to keep it to yourself, stay silent.

Backstage Silence

The African American citizens in these southern communities regularly coped with lynchings in silence. The fear of having their house burned to the ground kept them quiet in the privacy of their homes, only whispering their true feelings to their loved ones. They were always concerned with keeping their children safe. This woman is one of

many who recall fearful events in relation to parents, events that often had a traumatic impact on children and adults much like traumatic experience associated with war. Many times, siblings and parents witnessed White violence against family members, but were unable to assist. The intensity of fear for the safety of loved ones often surpasses that of other fears (Scruton 1986:8). In the backstage, parents counseled their children on how to perform in the frontstage to stay alive. However, in the backstage of African American communities and families there were several frontstage encounters. Parents would try to hide their fear from their children. Parents would attempt to shield their children from the painful realities of the total institution in which they lived, Jim Crow.

In 1897, the first woman appointed to the U. S. Senate, Rebecca Latimer Felton, expressed her feelings about the alleged rapes of White women, "If it takes lynchings to protect [White] woman's dearest possession from drunken, ravening beasts, then I say lynch a thousand a week" (Lewis 2001:24). The collective experiences of rape in Jim Crow's total institution were recorded in the local and national newspapers are at times graphic and painful to read. The experiences of the young children in the newspapers, if they are still living today, are our elderly African American women. They are the survivors of these painful and graphic stories. They have lived with the trauma, memories, stigma, and shame associated with these rapes. If they can live with it then, we can read what happened, try to bring light to the consequences, and acknowledge that they are truly survivors of Jim Crow's total institution.

CHAPTER VI

RAPE: A WEAPON OF TERROR

> ***. . . .****The sexual oppression of Black women is not only an end in itself; it is also an instrument in the oppression of the entire race. When Black men are prevented from defending their women and their children, they are symbolically castrated and assaulted in their essential dignity. Black women, in such a situation, are doubly instrumentalized—as objects of forcible rape and as instruments in the degradation of their men. In this sense, the sexual assaults on Black women are part of the reinforcing structure upholding a system of racial and economic exploitation. Physical terror against Black men who defend their women is one aspect of this reinforcing structure. . . .Every Black man must learn two lessons, if the system of oppression is to survive. "Defend Black women—and die!" is one. "Touch White women—and die!" is the other. In either case, women become instruments to be manipulated by society for the benefit of those in power. . .* (Lerner 1972:172)

Total Institution: Rape and Sexual Abuse

As mentioned earlier in this dissertation, on October 28, 2009, the New York Times shocked the country by revealing First Lady Michelle Obama's ancestral history, even as it asserted that "no one should be surprised anymore to hear about the number of rapes and the amount of sexual exploitation that took place under slavery; it was an everyday experience" (Swarns and Kantor, 2009:20). What remain unacknowledged are the systematic rape, lynching, torture, and beating of African Americans during Jim Crow. Goffman (1961) notes, "the [ultimate] model for interpersonal contamination in our society is presumably rape" (1961: 28). Indeed, "the rape of helpless Negro girls, which began in slavery days, still continues without reproof from church, state, or press" (McGuire 2010: xviii).

The physical and psychological trauma of rape was an everyday occurrence for African American women and children. In the frontstage, African American women worked long hard hours enduring verbal and sexual abuse, caring for White family members of all ages. The threat of sexual abuse and rape were a part of their everyday lives. In their efforts to obtain employment to secure the economic stability of their families, Black girls and women were vulnerable to the sexual advances, abuse and often rape at the hands of White men. This chapter starts with an example of the long term consequences of rape on the elderly African American women who survived the total institution of Jim Crow. The recollection of the experience and the long silence about the systematic rape of Black women is evident in this interview that the Associated Press did with rape victim, Recy Taylor. Her story will shed light on the numerous accounts of rape that follow in the pages of this chapter. Her words offer insight into the lives of all the Black women who have lived their lives silently dealing with the consequences of their rapes while living in the total institution of Jim Crow. In October of 2010, the Associated Press did a phone interview with Recy Taylor about the rape that occurred over 60 years ago in Alabama. The *Associated Press* reporter Errin Haines interviewed Recy Taylor from her Florida home (Haines, 2010:1).

In 1944, Recy Taylor was raped, beaten, and left by the side of the rode for dead. However, it was not the first time that a Black wife and mother was ganged raped, by White men, in the total institution of Jim Crow. Haines, the reporter, states, "[Black women's] pain galvanized an anti-rape crusade" (Haines, 2010:1). In the total institution of Jim Crow the overwhelmingly majority of Black women never received justice.

However, as Recy Taylor states, “The desire for closure is still there, more than 60 years later” (Haines, 2010:2). Rapes, kidnapping, and beatings often occurred to Black women who were simply going about their daily routines; at work, walking down the street, or at home. Even public spaces were dangerous for Blacks. Recy states, “I was an honest person and living right” (Haines, 2010:2). In most instances the Black women and girls that were raped were unable to relocate and were forced to live in the same town watching their rapist continue to live their lives free of prosecution while the women and their families were forced to deal with the trauma and the lack of prosecution. Taylor age 90 said, “They shouldn’t have did that. I never give them no reason to do it” (Haines, 2010:2). Indeed, these Black women lived in fear and were treated badly by members of the White, and in some instances by members of their own communities. Some Black community members have suggested in the article that, “an [official] apology from the government could be a start to the healing” (Haines, 2010:2).

According to Haines, “Evelyn Lowery recalls for many years, they tried to say that women were the cause of this, that (Black) women wanted sexual activity. … It hasn’t been true, but the courts used that to justify not taking action on behalf of the women. It was very demoralizing to all of us” (2010:2). Indeed, a government apology would go a long way with the women who suffered molestation, rape, and sexual violence in the total institution of Jim Crow. In some cases, the White rapists are deceased. Yet, it was the lack of state intervention and prosecution that contributed to the systematic rape of Black women. The research is clear, it’s not the severity of the punishment that prevents

crimes, and it's the certainty of punishment that prevents crimes. In the total institution of Jim Crow, the police, the state, and the government sanctioned the rapes.

Danielle McGuire, a history professor, documented some of the rapes of Black women in the south, as well as, the numerous cases where Black men who were innocent of rape lost their lives. McGuire (2010) said, "When we listen to the voices of these women, we get a whole new perspective" (2010: xix) about the systematic rape of Black women. Often forgotten in these rapes are the family members who have to endure trauma, too. As Goffman states, they are forced to watch as their family members are harmed and they can't do anything about it. Taylor's 74-year-old brother states, "I still don't like what happened . . . . It has never been a week that went by where it didn't cross my mind . . . .It made me feel terrible."

In some states, including Alabama, there is some question about the possibility of Black women getting justice after 60 years. Indeed, in some states there is a statue of limitation when it comes to rape. McGuire (2010) figures "you could make a case for reopening something" (2010: xix) if there are living assailants and evidence that can be gathered. If not a criminal case, certainly some of the survivors of these systematic rapes can file a civil suit and get some restitution. In the total institution of Jim Crow African American women who tried to seek justice were fearful as Recy Taylor states, "I felt like if I tried to push it, to try to get them put in jail, I thought maybe it would be bad on me, so I just [eventually] left town" (Haines, 2010:2). Typically there was no recourse for Black women, they were the victims yet they feared that they and their families were in danger of being harmed even further.

In terms of an apology from the state, Recy Taylor says, “It would mean a whole lot to me.” [However], “it’s unclear what closure may be available today for Black women who were raped in the” [the total institution of Jim Crow] (Haines 2010:2). The article crystallizes and gives the reader a better sense of what these young girls and women endured.

A History of Collective Rape

Indeed, scholars have argued that historically the rape of Black women has been ignored and the emphasis has been given to the imagined probable rape of White women by Black men (see Lerner 1972). In 1997, Dorothy Roberts states, “The rape of slave women by their masters was primarily a weapon of terror that reinforced Whites’ domination over their human property. . . . when White men raped Black women they were virtually, “subjugating the entire Black community” (Roberts 1997: 29-30; see also Lerner 1972). Prominent scholars that focused on rape have been criticized for the exclusion of race as a factor in systematic rape. Susan Brownmiller and Jean MacKellar were criticized for the lack of discourse and representation of the systematic rape of Black women during and after slavery (Clinton 1984). Clinton especially criticized Brownmiller for her “insensitivity to race and class dynamics” (Clinton 1984:206) and argues, “Rape has been employed as a collective as well as an individual means of social control—for the perpetrators and the victim. Slavery systematically fostered patterns of sexual violence, with consequences which have clear impact today” (1984:206).

Black Women, Rape, and Emancipation

The rape of Black women and girls after emancipation continued the subjugation of the Black community. Patricia Hill Collins argues that after emancipation; once enslaved women were set free they were vulnerable to even more rapes,

> No longer the property of a *few* White men, African American women became sexually available to *all* White men. As free women who belonged to nobody except themselves and in a climate of violence that meted out severe consequences for their either defending themselves or soliciting Black male protection, Black women could be raped (Collins 2005:65).

In 1926 in the Jim Crow south, Charles Merchant, the White son of a wealthy contractor, abducted two Black girls—sisters, and raped the 11-year old while her 17-year old sister watched. The young girl remained in serious psychological and physical condition while a jury set Merchant free ("Girls Reveal Story", 1926). According to McGuire (2010), in 1930, fourteen-year-old [names victim] was shot and killed in a restaurant in New Orleans by a White police officer because she resisted his attempts to rape her. McGuire (2010) provides a series of incidents including the 1949, assault on"[names victim], who was raped by two White police officers. When she confided in her minister, he spearheaded a protest. McGuire (2010) also reports on an incident that occurs 10 years later in Tallahassee in which four White men raped a university student at gunpoint. The men reportedly wanted to, "go out and get a nigger girl" (McGuire 2010: 106). These are not isolated incidents; they are evidence of the collective and systematic continuation of sexual assaults against Black girls and women long after the end of slavery.

Activist, Ida B. Wells is known for her activism against the collective lynching of Black men who were killed with or without an accusation of rape from a White woman.

However, she also highlighted the lack of societal response at the routine rape and sexual violation of Black women after slavery (Giddings 1985). According to Ray Baker, "White men in many communities often prominent judges, governors, wealthy planters, made little or no secret of the fact that they had a negro family as well as a White family" (Kennedy 1990:76). A Black nurse shares her accounts of these arrangements in 1912, "I know at least fifty places in my small town where White men are positively raising two families—a White family in the 'Big House' in front, and a colored family in a 'Little House' in the backyard" (Lerner 1972:156). Indeed, one would question if these arrangements were based on sexual and economic coercion or are these Black women freely engaging in "interracial relationships" with White men.

Black Women and Systematic Rape

According to Angela Davis (1983), the rapes of Black women were institutionalized and systematic, "this pattern of institutionalized sexual abuse was so strongly established that it survived the abolition of slavery. . . .These assaults were ideologically sanctioned by politicians, historians, novelists, and other public figures who systematically represented Black women as promiscuous and immoral" (1983:176). Indeed, African American women were subjected to systematic rapes and were, "heirs to a history of being the targets of sexual immorality through our ancestors' exploitation as breeders, their rape, and their being prostituted by slavers" (McGuire 2004: 908). Mary Church Terrell stated, "It was nearly impossible for a Black girl to grow to womanhood unviolated" (cited in Spickard 1989:262).

Scholars have noted that historically the rape of African American women in the United States was not considered a crime and African American women were less likely than White women to report the rape or attempted rape (Wyatt 1990). We see how the historical disregard of these rapes has contemporary implications for African American women. Wyatt (1990) suggested, "one of the reason for this [underreporting] could be their lower expectations of receiving support, given the historical roots of a tolerance of sexual exploitation of Black women during and after slavery" (Wyatt 1990:27). Angela Davis states, the rape of Black women "was a political weapon of terror" against Black men and Black communities (Davis 1990:44).

Recent studies provide the evidence that "African American women often do not report being raped because they fear they will not be believed by those in the criminal justice system" (Hopkins & Koss 2005:705). Researchers have argued that the rape statistics, especially the rape of Black women by White men, is higher than official statistics reveal (Williams 1986:5). Catherine Clinton argues, "Race continues to inflame the issue and to obscure the fact that African-American women are represented in rape statistics in dangerously disproportionate numbers" (1986:206).

In addition, the rape and/or sexual coercion of Black men by White women have received little or no attention in the historical literature. McGuire (2010) reports a series of incidents including the 1942 assault on an African American male domestic worker. [Names victim] was forced to enter into an illicit affair with his White female employer, McGee states, "she threatened to cry rape if [I] refused her flirtatious advances" (McGuire 2010:48). According to African Americans if a Black man refused the

advances of a White women, “down South you tell a woman like that no, and she will cry rape anyway” (McGuire 2010:49). After [names victim] broke off the coerced relationship with his White employer she reported to the police that he had raped her and less than six months later [names victim] was executed for the rape of his White female employer (McGuire 2010).

Frontstage: Rape Talk

As mentioned earlier, historically the literature on the rape of Black women in Jim Crow’s total institution is scarce. However, the literature on the rape of Black girls in Jim Crow’s total institution is all but invisible. Only a few respondents were willing to speak about the rapes and attempted rapes that occurred in their communities and their families. The research is clear on the stigma associated with rape, attempted rape, and sexual coercion and violence. However, in researching the archives of local and national newspapers, I initially didn’t choose any particular newspaper. I put in the search box the term “White rapist,” and several newspaper articles which had the term “White rapist” in it appeared. I was interested in documenting the rapes of Black women by a White perpetuator. I was able to collect nearly 150 documented cases of rape during the total institution of Jim Crow. I discovered the official documentation of the collective and systematic rape of Black women and girls in the tattered pages and microfiche copies of Black Newspapers (i.e. Atlanta Daily World Newspaper (ADWN), Chicago Defender (CD), Chicago Tribune (CT), Baltimore Afro-American Newspaper (BAAN), Afro-American Newspaper (AAN), and the Philadelphia Tribune (PT). In addition, throughout the articles we witness the swiftness in which African American men are

beaten to death, executed, or lynched when they are accused by White women of wreckless eyeballing, inappropriate contact, and rape.

These newspapers documented the rape, the testimony of the victim, the lack of prosecution, and in a few instances the trial, and the verdict. In my discussions with respondents, it was all but impossible to get elderly African Americans to share their experiences of rape and sexual coercion in Jim Crow's total institution. A few brave women shared stories of family members, neighbors, and friends being raped. A few respondents shared stories of near rape experiences. One respondent, while giving me a tour of her house and her family photos, showed me a picture of her grandfather. He was an elderly White man with a long White beard. She said, "This is my grandfather. He and my grandmother were married. He married her, they were married."

The respondent continued insistence that her grandparents were married is an indication of one of the arrangements mentioned earlier by the nurse. The occurrence of dual families for White men was a common event in the total institution of Jim Crow. One respondent mentioned that his African American grandmother traveled with his White grandfather and their White family to the town in which they currently live. He noted that his White great grandfather took care of his great grandmother, he never married her but he maintained two households.

> And he [my grandfather] had an advantage in the sense that his mother and father came out of south Atlanta when they freed the slaves. They came down here with their White family. You see what I'm saying? And as a result of that, he was a protected kind of individual. I'll have to show you a picture of him one time and you might see why he is protected, but anyways, (laughter) he was a mixed blood. Okay. Just that simple. Connected, by blood. The yellow blood. Now he was born here, but could never find out whether his mother came here pregnant or not. . .

> . So, my great grandmother and great grandfather worked for the [White] family. He [my grandfather] was born here and he grew up and everything. The house that ended up being their home, they gave that property to him to build that home and everything, then when he, you know the housework thing; this was just a decent White family. They ended up and got him a job at the post office. Then after that he decide to work on the train, he worked on the train, and he did that for a period of time until he hooked up with Mr. Hall who was kin to the [names family]'s family and he had a funeral home in Oklahoma, and he met my granddaddy and liked my granddaddy and everything and. . .so he hooked up with granddaddy and opened up a funeral home here. So he was always kind of in that slightly protected class, so he never really talked about the situation

In the respondent's narrative there is a tradition of African American women in his family having children by their White owners. The respondent says, "His White great grandfather and his White grandfather moved and took the entire family with them." So, his great grandfather and his grandfather were White men. The White grandfather provided an education and economic resources to the children born to his Black "companion." Whether or not these were consensual relationships is something we will never truly know. Indeed, the history of slavery and the rapes that occurred have not been documented. However, in order to fully grasp and explore the collectiveness of the raping of Black women and girls in the total institution of Jim Crow, I utilized newspaper sources. The newspapers document a clear and painful picture of the collective and systematic rapes that occurred on a daily basis in Black families, in the White frontstage in the total institution of Jim Crow. The newspaper accounts of young girls, women, and elderly women being raped is undeniable. I've changed the names of the victims for this dissertation. However, I intentionally decided not to change the names of the perpetrators.

Frontstage: The Trauma of Rape

Frontstage: Rape and Subsequent Injustices

Goffman (1961) notes, "the [ultimate] model for interpersonal contamination in our society is presumably rape" (1961: 28). In much scholarly literature and public discussion of "rape," past and the present, the focus is on assaults of White women. However, a much more common problem historically, in the total institution of Jim Crow, was Black families regularly facing the raping of their daughters, mothers, and sons by White men, including those with local power and influence (Williamson 1997; Litwack 1998; Talty 2003). Similarly, a respondent in the Southeast in his late sixties recalls a rape in his community:

> This lady's name was Elizabeth Smith and she was going to the sanctified church around the corner from Mt. Carmel Church and she got kidnapped by a White guy and he took her out in the woods and [he] sodomized her and raped her. . . He never served a day in jail. . . .She wasn't even married or anything at the time.

Numerous Black women had their, what was described by Rebecca Latimer Felton as a White women's "dearest possession" taken from them. According to McGuire (2010), "The rape of [B]lack women by White men continued, often unpunished, throughout the [total institution] of Jim Crow . . . White men abducted and assaulted [B]lack women at an alarming regularity" (2010: xviii). In the Southwest, a respondent in her late sixties responds to a question about rape in her community when she was growing up:

> There were rapes! The White man would rape girls. . . . If a White man see a half-way descent woman, if he wanted her, he went up and just grabbed her and start doing whatever he wanted to do to her. You know, she would fight, and say no, but he would beat her up, slap her, knock her down, and just, just take her. That was the norm back then for the White man to do. If you just happened to be in an area where they [Whites] were

> it could happen to you. We were basically homebound people, so, we didn't get out much. We would have to walk to school when we were kids coming up. We walked for 2 miles just to get to school so it wasn't any area to where it was predominately White. . .it was predominately [a] Black area of town. . . .My dad was always. . .an overseer, him and my grandfather. And when it came to us being out and about, they always forewarned us to be on the very best behavior, no matter what that White person would say to us. Always "yes sir/no sir, thank you sir" or whatever...never show any attitude or any animosity for all that would lead to was either a beating, rape, or killing.

Importantly, this respondent takes it for granted that Whites would look for lack of deference as an invitation for violence. This again emphasizes the critical nature of the performance while in the White frontstage. There was a recognition of institutional support for the hoary custom that a White man had "paramour rights" (Ellis and Ellis, 2003: xv), which generally meant that any White man could rape any Black woman with impunity. Unwillingly, family members watched violence targeting spouses, siblings, and parents. According to Goffman (1961), "in total institutions private coercion unadorned can be important. . . .forced sexual submission—these are methods that can be employed without rationalization as means of bringing the activities of another into one's own line of action" (1961:263). According to Sharon Wasco, "rape may confirm assumptions that violence is a routine part of life or that they do not have sexual control over their bodies. The damage to the survivors may be more pervasive than a single act of rape. . . .previous victim history may generate a pattern of harm and recovery that is more intricate than what has been accounted for in most published literature on trauma" (2003 :313).

A respondent in the Southeast in her eighties shared the story of an attempted rape when asked, "Do you remember your first encounter with a White person?"

> I remember one Sunday afternoon. . .a White man came to our house. I must have been about 15 . . . .This man knocked on the door. My mom was sleeping. . . .My brother was in the next room sleeping. I answered the door. The man looked like he was spellbound. It frightened me, so I started backing up and he started following me. He went straight through my mom's bedroom and my brother's bedroom. I ran. . .he was following me. My brother sat up in the bed, to see what was happening. . .he came behind him. I can remember. . .my sister saying, "Oh, no, no, Richard. No, no, no." He was going to hurt him. . . I ran up under the house and hid. He walked in the yard looking for me and eventually he went on and got in the car. My dad wanted to know who he was. . . I was never able to tell him who he was. I couldn't remember telling him what he looked like. It frightened me. I was young and it frightened me. I knew that these things happened and I didn't want that to happen to me. . . .It was terrible. . .it was very frightening. My brother wouldn't have been able to do anything about it.

This teenager is aware of the raping of Black women, and the stigma that is associated with it. She and her family knew that intervention by male relatives could have terrible consequences; in the extreme case, that might lead to their death. In the narrative, the respondent talks about her sister warning her brother not to intervene. According to Goffman, "there may be occasions when an individual witnesses a physical assault upon someone to whom he has ties and suffers the permanent mortification of having (and being known to have) taken no action" (1961:33). In the above recounting, the sister's warning shows that she knew that not only would the brother not be able to intervene, but that intervention would bring retribution.

A respondent in her 70's in the Southwest describes the threat of rape:

> My sister. . . .we were heading to my grandfather's house, and my grandfather. . . .he was a minister and he had one of those big uh wash tubs, number five, with a scrub board and stuff on it, and uh, we was going up there to my grand father's house. And my sister, whose a year younger then me, she always had a mouth on her and uh, she, there was a White man who did say something to her one time and, she talked back, and they got out and, hemmed her up, and they were gonna rape her if it

> hadn't of been for a lady that had came out with a broom. And this is what it was like in the, I think it was about '66/'67 and I stayed up there until my dad came and got her. . . .I knew what my father and my grandfather always said, "A steel tongue makes a wise person," and, and just watch what you say. And that's what I did.

This narrative again demonstrates that children were socialized to understand the power that Whites had in these spaces. The development of the "steel tongue" was important and suggests that feeling and saying had to be two very different things. In the total institution of Jim Crow if you stand up for yourself one form of punishment that Whites used was rape. According to McGuire, White men, ". . . .raped them as a form of retribution or to enforce rules of racial and economic hierarchy; sexually humiliated them and assaulted them on streetcars and buses, in taxicabs and trains, and in other public spaces" (2010: xviii). Indeed, rape was used as a weapon of terror to keep Blacks in "their place." Young African American women who wanted to stand up for themselves risked being raped by White men.

Frontstage: The Vulnerability of Learning the Performance

In addition, the socialization process unfolds as parents teach their children the performance in a total institution. At an early age African American children are taught to "do what Whites tell you to do," "Whites rule this world," and "say yes sir, no sir." Does this socialization process then leave young girls vulnerable to sexual abuse and coercion by Whites? Black parents understood that they had to teach their children the frontstage performance. I am not arguing that Black parents were wrong to teach their children frontstage performance. However, with few economic opportunities, coupled with the socialization, young girls were vulnerable to becoming a victim of sexual

violence and rape at the hands of White perpetrators. Recall earlier that a retired service worker recalls learning the proper frontstage performance in the total institution from listening to parents who told her to do what "Whites say do." Girls at a young age, socialized to obey, and eager to make money to help their families were easily lured by White men with promises of work.

Frontstage: Luring Little Black Girls with Promises of Money

In the total institution of Jim Crow, the rapes of Black girls and women were an ongoing problem. One of the characteristics of a total institution is economic control and a loss of personal safety. Frequently, White men with the promise of money lured young vulnerable girls into unsafe spaces and then raped them. The promise of money, gifts, and/or work was enticing in the total institution where young girls didn't have many resources and/or opportunities. According to McGuire (2010), "White men lured [B]lack women and girls away from home with promises of steady work and better wages; attacked them on the job; abducted them at gun point while traveling to and from home, work, or church" (2010: xviii). The White perpetrators were aware of the impoverishment in the total institution, coupled with their socialization, and used it to manipulate young girls, women, and their families. In a total institution, backstage, Black women had to endure listening to their young daughters describe some of the horrific things that happened to them at the hands of White men. The local White newspaper didn't cover many of the atrocities that occurred in the Black communities. However, Black newspapers often reported the injustices that occurred in their communities. The pages often covered the outrage at the raping of Black girls and

women. In addition, they emphasize that an African American man would have been executed or lynched if he had raped an eight-year-old White girl. The *Afro-American* Newspaper reported on June 25, 1927 in Pot Springs, Arkansas, "Chester Rigley received three years for raping an eight-year-old Black girl" ("Eight-Year-Old", 1927).

In a total institution, individuals with legitimate authority participated and committed criminal and heinous acts. The practice of police officers raping Black women had a long history in the total institution of Jim Crow. In 1942, in Little Rock Arkansas, an African American school teacher walking home from church was abducted by "three uniformed police officers [who] threatened to throw her in jail unless she got in their patrol car. They drove her behind a railroad embankment and sexually molested her. She escaped after promising to get them another girl" (McGuire 2010:29). The larger social structure and institutions supported and protected Whites; including police officers. The police are not legitimate in the eyes of the African American community because they are not there to protect African Americans and their families from White perpetrators; they are a part of the problem. In a total institution, the restricted are not given the same rights as the restrictors [Whites].

On September 8, 1928 in New Orleans the Afro-American paper reported, "John C. Carey, a White night watchman, who is alleged to have raped, on August 7, a young colored girl, age 12, was indicted for rape by the Orleans parish grand jury last Thursday" ("Twelve-Year Old Raped", 1928). Throughout the African American community, the rapes of young girls warranted attention. On May 19, 1934 in Petersburg, Virginia a seven year old child that was described as "feeble-minded" was

raped by R. C. Smith, a White man in his 50's ("Seven-Year Old Raped", 1934). In many of the rapes, the newspapers published the names, ages, and addresses of the victims and the names, ages, and addresses of the perpetrators. The stigma and shame associated with the rape followed the young girls throughout their lives. Thus, we see some of the possible connections between the total institution of slavery and Jim Crow. If the rapes resulted in pregnancy, the families had no recourse, the judicial system handed out minimal if any sentence for the rape and coupled with the possible subsequent pregnancy the young girl and her family members are forever changed. McGuire states, "In 1893, Fannie Barrier Williams recalled the shameful fact [is] that . . . . Black women [are] engaged in a painful, patient, and silent toil . . . to gain title to the bodies of their daughters" (2010: xix).

The *Afro-American* paper reported on December 4, 1937, that two White men raped a 12-year-old Black girl on her way home. The rapists "tore off her clothes and bruised her little body severely" ("Child, 12, Raped", 1937). The two men who raped this little girl were never caught. It is likely that the continual evidence of the rape of Black women couples with the lack of consequences for the perpetrators contributed to segregation stress syndrome. The newspaper reports often went to lengths to make clear that these Black citizens were law abiding; these young victims came from upstanding Black families. Such reports in the Black newspapers highlights that communities in their efforts to get justice were forced to challenge the misconceptions and belief that "they were asking for it."

On June 27, 1959, the *New Journal and Guide* reported the rape of an 11-year-old Black girl in Raleigh, North Carolina at gunpoint. The rapist, Ralph Betts was an ex-convict who had been released after serving 8 years for the 'attempted rape' of a White girl. However, the district attorney said, "he would seek the death penalty for . . .raping an 11-year-old colored girl at gunpoint" ("Attacked at Gunpoint", 1959). The little 11-year-old girl was lured into a wooded area with the promise of selling pocketbooks to make money. According to the paper, the little girl reported that, "Betts forced her with a pistol to take off her clothes after she refused to disrobe" ("Raped at Gunpoint", 1959). The perpetrator wasn't deterred even though there were several young Black girls walking with the victim. The young victim's friend alerted the mother of the abduction. It was not uncommon for White men to beat and kill their victims if they resisted. McGuire (2010) reported that a young teenager was abducted by a White rapist who became angry because she resisted, "he beat her until she was unconscious. Then raped her, tied her to the bumper of his car, and dragged her bound body through town. He dumped her, bruised and battered, outsider her home later that evening" (2010: 30). In some instances of rape, the police did arrest the sexual predator. However, there were no instances in the newspapers that I researched where the charges included kidnapping and attempted murder.

Frontstage: Black Families Coped

In the frontstage, African American families coped in silence and struggled with the realization that their young daughters were raped. In most instances there was no

immediate outcry from the Black community in the White frontstage. The differences in treatment for the victim and the perpetrator are evident.

While the young girl and her family dealt with the reality that she was raped; the attorneys for Ralph Betts, the rapist, negotiated his punishment. The all White male jury "spared Ralph Betts life by recommending mercy" ("Attacked at Gunpoint", 1959). Yet, there was no mercy for [victim's name], an innocent 11-year old child that was brutally raped. The trauma of the experience will forever change her life and the lives of her family. This young child could clearly suffer from some form of segregation stress syndrome. In the total institution of Jim Crow, African Americans didn't have access to mental health care and facilities. The trauma for the child, the resulting trial, and the verdict added to the stress that the family felt when they didn't get justice for their young child. In addition, the two types of justice that allows White men to receive mercy from all White male juries; while Black men are sentenced to death contributed to the collective pain, anger, and frustration of the African American community. The hierarchy in a total institution is undeniable.

Frontstage: He Told Me Not to Tell!

In the total institution of Jim Crow, the survivors of racial sexualized violence, "rarely received justice in Southern courts" [the courts of a total institution] that didn't stop Black women from using their, "voices as weapons against White supremacy" and the total institution of Jim Crow (McGuire 2010: 39). A respondent in the Southeast shares how she was sexually molested:

> The only thing is me teaching, you know, is not to be caught out nowhere by yourself and different things. The one time . . .my mother let me went

> to pick some peas with a White man, one morning. . .I think he might have been up to something, but I say that. I got on in the truck and we went on down the road and, and ah, all of a sudden he's reached over there to grab me. I was just beating that man like I was crazy. He yelled. Stop! Stop! I said, you keep your hands where they're suppose to go cause they don't go on me! I said, you leave me alone! I got out of the truck and went on, I wasn't too far from home. I . . .walked back to my house. So as I was going back my Daddy and my Mother and the man's brother was standing right there talking. They said, what you back, I thought you was going …And I went over there and told everybody . . .He begged me not to tell somebody and I went over there and told them. And my Daddy got so mad, he said, I'm going to kill that cracker! I'm going to kill him! He said no you ain't, you ain't going to kill him, I'm going to kill him! That was his brother saying. His brother saying you know not to touch no girl like that. That is a little young girl. . . . I was more mad than I was scared! Cause I ain't wanting no man to touch me. . . He said, "how would you feel like if you had a daughter and a Black man was caught with her. You would, you would be ready to hang him, wouldn't you." And he say, "yeah, I recon' I sure probably would have." Well, that's how he feels about you. He feels like killing you right now. . . .My Dad was ready to kill him. And he say, "you wouldn't want me to touch your child. *That's right.* Well, I feel about mind just like you feel about yours. [My mom] she said, "you did right by coming to tell. A lot of people would try to make like they scared and don't come up and tell it right then. You told it right then. And you done good." I said that's what I'm a do anybody touch me that's don't suppose to touch me, I going to tell them. I'm a good girl, my Mama raised me.

At thirteen this respondent was sexually assaulted. The father was outraged, yet the police were not summoned and the White man wasn't held accountable for molesting the child. In the White racial frame, White men are fundamentally good and deserve to receive the mercy from other Whites. Instead of it being viewed as a systematic issue it was viewed as a 'good man did one wrong thing." The respondent points out that she is "a good girl." This implies that young girls that get raped and molested in Jim Crows total institution are somehow, "bad girls." This shows how the act of rape accompanies a certain degree of shame for the young girls that get raped. There is this implication that

you didn't do all that you could do to prevent the rape, the burden falls on the young victims.

In this narrative the strength of this little girl is powerful. In spite of what she was told by her White attacker, she fought him back and she reported the assault. She states, "My mama raised me." The respondent has a strong belief in what is right and what is wrong and how she should be treated. Too, in the narrative in the total institution of Jim Crow, there were two types of justice.

Two Little Girls and Two Types of Justice

Frontstage: Pleas of Insanity

In Jim Crow's total institution, individuals utilized strategies to elude prosecution when it was deemed necessary. White men to avoid being placed in a predicament where they might face jail time commonly used the insanity plea defense. Indeed, in the total institution of Jim Crow, there was a racial hierarchy; White men could plea insanity and get away with the kidnapping, rape, mutilation, and often the murder of Black women and children. In some instances, all a Black man had to do was to look at a White women and he could lose his life. As I mentioned earlier in the dissertation, "look rape/wreckless eyeballing in Jim Crow's total institution, the penalty for look rape/wreckless eyeballing was death or minimally a life sentence. However, those rules only applied to Black men. If a Black man was accused of looking at a White woman (reckless eyeballing), being in the physical vicinity of her or attempting to rape a White woman, he most assuredly would face death through the court system or at the hands of ordinary Whites. In the *Chicago Defender* on November 1, 1947 an article by John

LeFlore described how a 35-year-old married man lured a young girl from her home, in the early morning hours, promising her that he needed her to babysit because his wife was ill. The young girl had previously babysat for the family. The 14-year-old girl stated, “Cole drove to a secluded spot outside of town and threatened to kill her if she didn’t submit to his advances” (LeFlore 1947:B1)

White men lured young girls and women with the promise of work. In many instances the young girls knew their rapist. The parents of this child had a degree of mistrust, yet they let their daughter go with this White man at 4 a.m. The mother watched as Cole drove away in the wrong direction and she called the police. The police found the partially naked White man and young girl on the outskirts of the city. Note too, this case is in complete contrast to an African American man that was accused of merely “frightening” a White woman in North Carolina and was subjected to being lynched by a White mob.

In a total institution, two types of punishment are delivered depending on the race of the actors. If the victim is White and the accused African American; lynching, dismemberment, and death is nearly guaranteed. However, if the victim is African American and the accused are White punishments are much less severe. In nearly all instances, the White men goes free, faced lower fines, and was not physically harmed or even threatened with physical harm. The stories of rape were well-known in the African American community. In the 1930’s a young Black girl was brutally raped at knifepoint, “by a White man who hired her as a domestic. Police refused to arrest the man, and the case languished until it finally disappeared from public conversation” (McGuire 2010:

10). However, there were some instances when the case did go to trial but that didn't guarantee justice for the Black victims of rape in the total institution of Jim Crow.

Frontstage: Two Traumatized Little Girls

As stated earlier in a narrative, young girls walking with other children didn't deter the White rapist from kidnapping and rape. In addition, earlier in the dissertation the brutal rape of Recy Taylor was mentioned. McGuire (2010) states, "Taylor must have been in extreme pain and shock. There was no telling what physical injuries she sustained, how many bruises would mar her skin the next morning. The psychological wounds were bound to last a lifetime" (2010: 7). Thus, is the case for two little girls that were walking home on Sunday evening, when they were abducted, at gunpoint, by a White man who raped the 11-year old while her older sister watched unable to offer her assistance. Then, he attempted to rape her 17-year old sister. The *Chicago Defender* reported the story of the brutal rape, "a White man is charged with having brutally assaulted an 11-year-old girl of our race" ("Girls Reveal Story", 1926). The rapist, Charles Merchant forced both sisters to take off their clothes. He raped the younger girl while her older sister sat nude in the street and watched unable to assist her. After the attack, Merchant forced the two, still nude, girls to walk through the streets. The older sister was able to escape and get help. The 11-year-old was later found naked and unconscious. A doctor confirmed that she had been brutally raped. The paper reported that, "the [11-year-old] is in a sanitarium in a serious condition, due to the assault, and her sister is at home suffering from exposure and severe nervous shock" ("Girls Reveal Story", 1926).

The anger and frustration about the collective rapes in the Black communities is clear, in the total institution of Jim Crow African American men accused of rape received a more severe punishment while White men, including Charles Merchant, pleaded insanity and were set free. In some instances, the judge in the cases overturned the guilty verdict of the jury and argued that they meant to offer the White prisoner mercy. Charles Merchant was set free. A few days earlier it took the same jury only 17 minutes to convict a Black man [Ed Harris] of rape. He was put to death. The paper reported, "the Kentucky court proclaimed to the world. . .a dark girl has not rights that a White man's bound to respect" ("Girls Reveal Story", 1926). These are similar words that were used during slavery to describe the mistreatment of enslaved African Americans.

The collective experience of African American girls and women is evident when the journalist states, "the raping of dark women" and "they work one way for White folks [and] they reverse themselves for dark folks." The article highlights the institutional aspect of and practice of raping Black girls and women. The state ordains the practice and a Black woman has no rights that a White man is bound to respect.

The hierarchy of the White social structure in a total institution nearly guaranteed freedom for White men from prosecution, imprisonment, and execution. We see the words that were used during the institution of slavery to enforce the racial hierarchy. These words were used in an opinion by Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, the chief justice of the Supreme Court, in the *Dred Scott's v Sanford 1857* decision. He declared that Blacks were "beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the White race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior, that they had no rights

which the White man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit" (Lowance 2003:459). The connection of the two institutions is undeniable and a clever way for the reporter to remind the readers of slavery.

Frontstage: The Trial of Two Traumatized Little Girls

The *Chicago Defender* reported on the progress of the trial that lasted only a few days. Throughout the trial there were outburst of tears and sobbing as the older sister explained to the all White male jury and judge what happened on that Sunday evening. She said, “He ripped off our clothes.” The 17-year-old continued, “he made me sit on the ground naked while he—he—attacked Ellie. Then he turned on me.” It took the all White jury less than an hour to find Merchant, “of unsound mind” (“Girl Testifies”, 1927).

An aspect of the rapes in Jim Crow’s total institution was the lack of justice that Black girls and women received when they reported the rapes. In most instances, White rapist were set free for a variety of reasons, proposed ‘lack of evidence,’ small fines, short sentences or no sentence, a warning, a refusal to convict, and the insanity plea. The insanity plea was utilized in rape cases where the White rapist feared that the evidence was overwhelming enough for a conviction. When an African American male was accused of sexual assault, rape, or less he faced harsh and long prison sentences, beatings, and often death by lynching. If the case made it to trial the treatment African American males received for the same or lesser offense was in stark contrast to the treatments of White perpetrators in the judicial system.

As mentioned earlier, the 11-year-old was admitted to a sanitarium. The extreme psychological trauma that these two sisters suffered as a result of the rape is apparent. Again, they will surely suffer from some form of segregation stress syndrome throughout their lifetime, especially if they don't get psychological counseling. In addition, the *Chicago Defender* reported the sobbing and outcries from family members at the trial is evidence that they too have suffered trauma. Indeed, listening to the young girl reveal the details of the rape were more than they could stand. Even though many in the White community would justify and excuse the rape of Black women and girls; the headline clearly shows that in the eyes of the Black community it was considered a crime. In addition, this shows that in a total institution there was no protection for the oppressed.

Frontstage: Merchant vs. Harris

In Jim Crow's total institution, the people in power at the top of the hierarchy take on the beliefs that they have the support of the social structure and that they can commit crimes against women of color without fear of punishment for the alleged crime. Whites, in many instances, took the law into their own hands when there were White women accusing Black men of rape. In the Black newspapers, we see the constant reference to the impact on the "collective" African American community. The reporter mentions *our* [representing the collective]. He states, "Our people are up in arms . . . . the third person of our race to be executed" ("Girl Testifies", 1927). The Black community wanted justice for the young Black girls and women that were raped at the hands of White men.

As a collective, the Black community had had enough; they wanted the punishment to fit the crime regardless of race. They wanted justice for their Black girls and women.

The Charles Merchant and Ed Harris cases show the two types of justice that occurred in the total institution of Jim Crow in the 1920's. However, 25 years later in the 1950's African American women were still getting the message that they couldn't get justice. In 1951 in a prison in the state of Virginia, seven African American men were executed for their allegedly breaking the social rules in the total institution of Jim Crow. A White woman accused the seven men of raping her. The African American community was in shock to hear the news that seven African American men were charged, tried, and convicted of raping a White woman. The seven men were executed with, "rapid-fire consecutive death sentences" (McGuire 2010: 50). While two White police officers convicted of kidnapping and raping an African American woman only received seven years in jail. ". . .[T]he paltry sentence reminded [B]lack women that society did not consider them worthy of the same protection afforded White women" (McGuire 2010:50-51).

The outrage of the African American community is legitimate based on the glaring differences in the manner in which the oppressed and the oppressors are treated in the total institution of Jim Crow. The trials and responses in the frontstage support the social structure that is in place in the south. According to van der Kolk, McFarlane, and Weisaeth (2006), "most victims who are conscious of the effects of trauma on their lives preserve their self-protective instincts and are highly ambivalent about having people find out what has happened to them" (2006:31). The judicial system dismissing the

rapes of Black women and girls reinforces the silence about the systematic rapes during Jim Crow.

In a Black family when a member is raped, the rape victims and family members are aware that they run a great risk of not being believed, of being blamed, and of having their sexuality exposed and scrutinized (van der Kolk, McFarlane, and Weisaeth 2006:31). Trauma can be the result of, "being unable to protect oneself and one's children, about failing to bring security and happiness to one's family, and about acknowledging one's physical and financial powerlessness" (van der Kolk, McFarlane, and Weisaeth 2006:31).

Frontstage: Dangerous Work - Black Women Working in White Homes

During the total institution of slavery, it was commonplace for Black enslaved women to work in the homes of White slave-owners caring for the house, the children, the elderly and other members of the home. While working in these homes enslaved Black women were subjected to sexual and physical abuse. In Jim Crow's total institution, Black women worked in the homes of Whites for little or no compensation in some instances.

The physical and psychological injuries of rape extended well beyond individual targets and thereby sustained the institutionalized structure of White dominance and Black vulnerability and subordination. In this poignant excerpt, a custodian's use of "dipping" signals how common rape was during legal segregation. Hesitantly, he expresses how he realizes Black women had no choice:

> My mamma was a maid. She used to work with a lot of White folks. . .
> .My mama had gray eyes and red hair. . . So, when he [my brother] come

> out, with blonde head, they ain't no good will where he come from. . . . He come from a [White] man who'd . . . been dipping into my family a long time ago. . . . White folk, they love the [Black] women especially. . . . Bring them in and their wives couldn't say nothing. . . . And so you know about these kids, coming up with the light skin, you know. They know where they come from.

In a total institution, institutionalized men are denied the opportunity to respond to assaults against their family member, thus undermining their masculinity. This man mentioned that he had two brothers with blonde hair. (His dark–skinned father left his mother when he was young.) The respondents did not realize what occurred until they were older and considered the different colors in their family. They suggest that Black women often had no choice and were coerced into sexual relations with influential White men (see also Gwaltney 1993; Williamson 1997; Talty 2003). Indeed, some African American women argued, "those of us who got up early met the not infrequent sight of White men driving out of the Negro neighborhood at dawn" (McGuire 2010: 170).

In the *New Journal and Guide* on September 20, 1930, a rape occurred in Chapel Hill, N.C. A young girl was selling her vegetables. For African Americans the pursuit of economic security continuously placed these young girls in a vulnerable position to be sexually assaulted and raped. "*Crime Has No Color Line*" was the title of the article that reported a 14-year-old girl went to sell her vegetables to a local White grocer. Instead of buying her vegetables, a White man raped her. It took the police, more than 5 days to arrest him. He was released after placing bond ("Crime Has No Color Line", 1930). In Jim Crow's total institution, the White newspapers didn't write about the attacks on Black girls and women. The national newspapers frequently reported on the rapes of Black women and girls. The reporter mentions the lack of attention given to reporting

the rapes in the White newspapers. The reporter mentions the two types of justices given to Whites and Blacks. On the hierarchical ladder, Black men are lynched and White men are arrested days after the attacks. In addition, there were rapes that didn't get reported for a variety of reasons. In Kentucky on April 11, 1931 the *New Journal and Guide* reports another rape of a young 16-year-old girl. The rapist was her employer. After the child reported the rape the police allowed the man to leave town ("Rapist Leaves Town", 1931). According to McGuire (2010), "between 1940 and 1965, only ten White men were convicted of raping [B]lack women or girls in Mississippi despite the fact that it happened regularly" (2010:171). The practice of allowing White men to negotiate and avoid prosecution was widespread throughout the south.

Frontstage: White Negotiations

In the *Atlanta Daily World* on June 6, 1951, a White man in Jackson, Mississippi is jailed for the rape of a 14-year-old girl. The caption of the newspaper read, "White Man Jailed on Rape Charge." The 14-year-old girl was hired to babysit for the White family. The rapist reportedly was taking the little girl back home after finished babysitting. Instead of taking her home he took her to a secluded area, raped her, and then took her home. The 14-year-old said, "He told [me] he would throw me in the lake if [I] told anyone" ("White Man Jailed", 1951). Another White man [who was reportedly a Mormon] was allowed to leave the city after raping a 16-year-old girl that worked for his family. Apparently, Whites' negotiated in the frontstage to ensure that they were not held responsible and punished for raping Black women and girls.

Systematically young Black girls are raped during the course of working in the homes of Whites. In spite of the threat of death, the young woman revealed that her employer had raped her. In a total institution, the restricted are rarely believed when they disclose physical acts of violence against them. The *New Journal and Guide* on September 20, 1952 reported the rape of a young 16-year-old Black girl in Spottsylvania, Virginia by a White marine. However, the judge in the case can't decide if the marine should go to jail for raping the Black girl. According to the report, the judge "dismissed the hopelessly deadlocked jury of six colored and sic White men" ("Judge Frees Rapist", 1952). As we see here, in some instances Blacks were on juries when a White man is accused of raping a Black girl. However, that offered no guarantee that the White rapist would go to jail. The marine was returning the girl home after she babysat for his children. According to the paper, the little girl reported that, "He pulled off the road in a wooded area about a mile and a half from her home and forcibly raped her" ("Judge Frees Rapist", 1952). The marine drove the girl back to her house and when the father realized the girl was crying. According to the paper, the father chased after the car and yelled, "What have you done to my daughter" ("Judge Frees Rapist", 1952)? The girl was taken to the hospital, examined by a doctor who reported, "Finding evidence of forcible intercourse" ("Judge Frees Rapist", 1952). The father confronts the attacker, yet he feels no obligation to respond. Again, the jury in this case included six African American jurors. However, its questionable if in the 1950's African Americans had the power to vote freely on a jury that included a White defendant.

I will discuss later in the chapter how the NAACP intervened to ensure that some of the White men went to trial. In several instances, once the jury convicted the man that meant automatic death. However, the final decision was not always left to the jury to decide. In some instances, the judge intervened in defense of the White rapist.

Black Men, Rape, and Social Injustices

Earlier in the dissertation, I mentioned two types of justice. I will explore further the two types of justices that White and Black men received for the same crime. In Lexington, Kentucky and throughout the south there were two types of justice—one for Blacks and another for Whites. The *Philadelphia Tribune* reported that the attack of the two sisters and the subsequent release of the rapist occurred, "6 days prior to the hanging of the Negro whom it had been necessary to protect a mob with 1,000 state troops" ("No Troops Needed", 1926).

Frontstage – "Look Rape"

One of the respondents I interviewed recalled reading in the newspaper that their were several African American men that were arrested and tried for what African American referred to as "wreckless eyeballing." A respondent in the Southeast recalls a man being arrested and sent to jail for "wreckless eyeballing." She states:

> I remember when (named a person) got six years in prison for looking in the direction of a White woman who was 75 feet away from him. He was charged with reckless eyeballing and he spent 6 years in prison. . . .If you look at Whites too long White women you could be put in jail. That man went to jail for years and he was standing a long ways from the White women. [She began shaking her head back and forth in disgust]. Things are better…Can't live with them and can't live without them….We need their money and they need our work…They have to have somebody to keep their house clean…Raise their children…the kids all hugged up with

> you and then they see you on the street when they grown and they act like they don't know you…you work for years and die on the job. It has always been that way…. But in the long run, we will never get to the top, but we can keep working on it. You see those children at that day care center. They all hugged up to me. A few years from now they will see me in the street and act like they don't know me. I have seen it before. I raise them from a baby and when they get grown they ignores me.

In the midst of sharing the story of the wreckless eyeballing case, this respondent shares the painful memory of raising White children and having them ignore her later in life. An underreported aspect of this is that there are some White adults who were nursed and raised by Black women to later be ripped away from those Black women who nurtured and cared for them throughout their early formative years.

Indeed, on March 25, 1952 the headlines of the *Philadelphia Tribune* read, "Black Man Looks and Goes to Trial for Wreckless Eyeballing." The defendant, a father of nine, "was not within 75 feet of the White girl but was arrested, tried, and convicted of 'look rape" ("Black Man Looks", 1952). This father of nine lost his job and his means of income. These cases carried with them a stigma of guilt instead of innocent until proven guilty. In addition, "wreckless eyeballing" wasn't considered a crime for White men. In a total institution, the rules and laws were applied differently based upon your status. In all of these rape cases the pain and voices of the families are invisible. When a person is accused of rape or is raped it involves the family, the extended family, and the entire community. It's rare to hear the voice of a mother whose son is falsely accused of raped and killed for a crime he didn't commit. In the wake of the Tallahassee four rape trial that was mentioned earlier in this dissertation the Baltimore newspaper provided the

community with a rare look into the pain of Black motherhood in the total institution of Jim Crow.

Frontstage – The Pain of Black Motherhood

On June 20th, 1959 Baltimore Newspaper reporter Moses Newson, in Tallahassee Florida wrote about the execution of Alan Bard. The people of Tallahassee charged the 17-year-old Alan with the rape of a 52-year-old woman. Mrs. Bard, the mother of nine, fought to help free her son, she wrote the governor and the State Supreme Court. The governor promised her that he would make sure that her son would get life in prison if she helped him get reelected. She kept her side of the bargain. However, once the governor won the election he forgot about Mrs. Bard. On the day of the execution Newsom states, "[everyone] remembers the heartrending cries with which Mrs. Bard filled the dawn air . . . the day they strapped her teenage son, her seventh child, in the electric chair and pulled the switch." Mrs. Bard stated, "His being killed hurt me" (Newson, 1959).

As mentioned earlier in the dissertation, an aspect of the total institution of Jim Crow is the trauma that the family members suffer. Alan Bard had eight siblings. His sister and brother kept clippings of the trial. Alan Bard reportedly couldn't read or write someone had to write his letters for him. His sister remembers the last letter she got from him, it simply said, "Dear sister, my warrant has been signed. Come at once" (Newson, 1959).

The State of Florida had never executed a White man charged with raping a woman of color. Moses Newsom gave the larger community a rare opportunity to hear the voice of Alan, his mother, his sister, and his brothers. Mrs. Bard clearly did everything in her

power to save her son's life. In the face of death, her son thinking only of her said, *"Mama, I didn't do it." "He told me on the day before he died, "Mama, you pray for me. Hold your head up high, I didn't do it"* (Newsom, 1959). Few record, document, and report the last words of the Black men who are executed, lynched, or beaten to death when they are accused of raping White women. This is one family's powerful story. However, there are thousands of Mrs. Bards and their sons in the total institution of Jim Crow. The reality that African American women endured the 'murder' of their sons being accused of allegedly raping White women surely caused trauma. I contend without any type of professional counseling this Black mother and other mothers like her, surely suffered with some form of segregation stress syndrome.

Frontstage Response:The Black Community Speaks Out!

On October 17th, 1925 the *Chicago Defender* and other National African American papers had been regularly writing commentaries on the injustices of Jim Crow's total institution. The newspapers reported the lack of justice in a total institution after a White mob tried to lynch a Black man.

However, throughout the south Black men were beaten, lynched, mutilated, and killed whenever they were accused of any type of questionable behavior with a White woman. With his last breath one Black man that was burned to death, "pleaded his innocence." In the same month a White man was positively identified by a Black girl who said he raped her. The judge "turned the man loose with a warning" ("Encouraging White", 1925). On September 3rd, 1955 the *Philadelphia Tribune* reported two cases one was an 18-year-old Negro Airman in Mississippi who was executed in the gas

chamber as his mother, from Chicago, waited to claim his body. A 13-year-old Black girl's rapist got 2 years in jail for raping her. The *Chicago Defender* reported about the anger in the Black community, "the land of depraved minds and blissful ignorance. And that is the answer to White supremacy. As long as such uneven justice prevails and rapine is encouraged in any race. . . .there will be hatred, prejudice, and race wars" ("Unequal Justice", 1955).

These are powerful words from the Black communities in the Midwest and the north that were outraged at the mistreatment and injustices in the south. One aspect of Jim Crow's total institution is that if you came into it you needed to understand the rules and regulations. Young African American men from the north often visited their families in the south for the summer. It didn't matter if you were from the north, the rules of the total institution applied to you, too.

Similar to the nationally known Emmett Till case, this mother from Chicago sent her son to the south to visit family and as a result of the total institution; she carried her son's body home in a casket. Emmett Till was a 14-year-old that went to visit family for the summer. Note too, the White rapist, got two years in the penitentiary, which means that he could possibly spend a few months in jail if he was released on early parole for "good behavior."

Frontstage: First White Man Possibly Executed, Really?

On July 4th, 1959, the *Philadelphia Tribune* headline read, "First White Man Possible Executed for Raping Black Woman." A South Carolina Judge reportedly gave a White marine and Negro rapist the electric chair. A 47-year-old Black woman accused a 24-

year-old marine of raping her; while a 19-year-old Black man was accused of attempting to rape a White woman. However, they both got the electric chair. The judge in the case said, “The verdicts should establish beyond all doubt that any person, regardless of race, color or creed, can get justice in South Carolina” (“First White Man Executed”, 1959). Note that Israel Sharpe, the young Black man is only accused of attempting to rape a White woman yet he will get the death sentence. Fred Davis is accused and confessed to actually kidnapping and raping a 47-year old Black woman. Davis said, “He had over-powering desires to force women to do his will” (“First White Man Executed”, 1959)

According to the newspaper, the judge stated, “We must [be] certain that the very limited news coverage of any and all crime incidents that might be considered unfavorable to the north. . .Those people up there hate us” (“First White Man Executed”, 1959). Clearly, the motivation for convicting the White marine was rooted in the notion that Northerners were viewing the south as unfavorable due to the injustices when it comes to convicting and prosecuting White and Black men differently for the crime of rape. In addition, this White man is a serial rapist. He confessed to several rapes and attempted rapes. There was an outcry from some leaders in the Black community. James Robinson of the Congress of Racial Equality wanted all executions for rape to be halted. Indeed, the first White man, a serial rapist, that gets executed for rape there is a cry from a prominent Black male leader to halt all executions for rape. The response of some Black men when it came to the raping of Black women and girls was inconsistent. In the next chapter on coping some of the male respondents argued that

Black women who slept with White men were not raped but they did it of their own free will to get money and favors. While others respondents denied that, it ever happened.

Frontstage: Black Women Resisting

In some instances, the rapes of women and children occurred in their own homes. The homes of African Americans in a total institution were frequently considered a safe space for them in the backstage to practice their lines and prepare for their performance in the frontstage with Whites. However, it was not uncommon for White rapist to enter into their homes and commit rape. In Missouri, on May 31, 1919 a six-year-old was raped in her home. The headline read, "White Man Rapes Six-Year-Old Girl," culprit entered the home in absence of school girl's parents. A 35-year-old White man raped a six-year-old while her mother was visiting her friends. The mother was still in the neighborhood. The White rapist followed the six-year-old home from school. The newspaper reported that the little girl said that the White man, "gave her a nickel, forced her to sit upon his knee, and attempted to assault her" ("White Man Rapes", 1919). The mother returned to find the 45-year-old in the bedroom with her daughter. She grabbed a gun, chased him from the house, and called the police.

The child's clothes, "were badly torn and blood stained." The 35-year-old didn't deny that he raped the child. He said, "He could not resist the impulse to attack the little girl" ("White Man Rapes", 1919). In a total institution, White men felt like they had the freedom to walk into the homes of African Americans and do as they please. The long lasting trauma that children endure when they are raped as children is well documented in the literature. In some instances, the young children were not lured with money but

were just going on about their everyday lives when they were abducted, rape, and their lives changed forever by White men. The rapes of young girls occurred throughout the south.

Frontstage: Black Newspapers Reveal Systemic Rapes

In Jim Crow's total institution the outrage at the rapes was in most instances confined to the African American community. The Black newspapers would report on the rapes while the mainstream (White) newspapers did not report on the rapes. In Atlanta, Georgia in 1932, the *Atlanta Daily World* Newspaper reported on the rape of a five-year-old child by 58-year-old A.B. Mullinax, "He was judged to be insane by a trial jury" ("White Rapist Called Insane", 1932). In Jim Crow's total institution, when White individuals were apprehended they often-claimed mental insanity which ensured that they didn't have to go to prison. In the total institution of slavery, White regularly argued that only a White man who was insane would sleep with African American women. The practice continued in the total institution of Jim Crow. The attorney for the accused White rapist would have family, friends, doctors, and co-workers testify that the defendant was not in his right mind. It didn't take much for the jury and judges to be convinced that the man was insane. We see the connection between the two institutions. Historically, White men have been called insane for sleeping with Black women. The article went on to describe how the 58-year old storekeeper was, "caught in bed with the tiny tot after doors had been broken down . . . .The girl was under the care of doctors for some time on account of her condition" ("White Rapist Called Insane", 1932).

In Jim Crow's total institution, African Americans had a difficult time protecting their children from the gaze of the White rapist. In some instances, the individuals charged with protecting citizens were themselves committing rape. On April 29, 1916 the *Chicago Defender* newspaper headline read, "Thirteen-year-Old Girl Criminally Assaulted by [a White] Farmer" ("Thirteen-year-old Girl Criminally Assaulted", 1916). The girl was living with her grandfather who was on the grounds working. The White rapist asked the little girl for a glass of water. He entered the house, forced the little girl upstairs, and raped her. The grandfather returned to the home, hear noise coming from the second floor of the house, and found the rapist who began begging for mercy. The child was examined by two Black doctors, "both of whom stated that they found all the evidence of virginity and of rape" ("Thirteen-year-old Girl Criminally Assaulted", 1916). However, no charges were brought against the man because the little girl's White guardian withdrew all charges. The child's guardian stated, "The girl had took cold feet and was afraid to prosecute the man" ("Thirteen-year-old Girl Criminally Assaulted", 1916). The case was dismissed. The newspaper stated, "Had the crime been charged to a *Race* man against a White girl the newspapers would have been full of news about the "brutal assault," and "the quiet, orderly" lynching that followed ("Thirteen-year-old Criminally Assaulted", 1916). As Browser states, "Prosperous Black farmers, [were accustomed to being] threatened by White if they did not leave. [Whites would use the threat of rape to keep the family in "their place"] (2008:48). The practice not only involved farmers but it also involved professional teachers, entrepreneurs, and others in

the Black community. Family members were forced to watch in silence as Whites committed sexual crimes against their spouses, siblings, and parents.

Frontstage: The Rapes of Pregnant Mothers and Their Daughters

The newspaper the *New Journal and Guide* on June 27, 1959 reported the rape of a pregnant mother in Florida. The headline read, "Florida White Man Held for Rape Try on Pregnant Mother." Matthews, a White man, with a gun, forced three people to drive him to the home of a pregnant woman. The White rapist clearly knew who this woman was that he was determined to kidnap and rape. He went to great lengths to get a car to drive to her house. Indeed, pregnant women were not safe from White men in the total institution of Jim Crow. As mentioned earlier in the dissertation, in many instances the African American women knew their White rapist. The rapist took off his clothes and forced the pregnant woman to take off all her clothes. The pregnant woman was able to convince the rapist that she knew of another woman that he would possibly prefer and the rapist, clearly feeling like he had control of the situation, drove her to a relative's home where she called police. These White men believed that they had the support of the larger social structures, specifically police ("Florida White Man", 1959).

On November 19, 1960 the *New Journal and Guide* reported that a mother and her five-year-old daughter had been raped in Mississippi. The headlines read: "3 Mississippi Whites Rape Mother, Tot, 5" - Yazoo City, Mississippi. As I have demonstrated throughout the dissertation Black girls and women were in many instances ganged raped. The three men, Bobby Smith 18, Charles Coffey, 20, and his brother Louis Coffey, 22 entered the home, threatened the family, and raped the mother and her 5-year-old child.

The mother and daughter were taken to the hospital. The hospital said, "the child definitely was raped. . .She's in a pretty bad way and we can't get a clear story from her yet" ("3 Mississippi Whites", 1960). The rape of this mother and her small child shows the horrible atrocities of the total institution of Jim Crow. The 5-year-old child is in critical physical and psychological condition. The literature clearly states that the trauma of rape most certainly leads to a lifetime of psychological problems—segregation stress syndrome.

The Stigma of Rape

Frontstage: The Psychological Cost

There are psychological costs as a result of the enormous trauma experienced by the victims and their families endure. According to Paul Spickard (1989),

> Slave husbands and fathers showed anger and frustration about depredations against their wives and daughters. Some resisted physically, but the power lay against them. They could run away or refuse to work, but most could do little to protect their women. The psychic cost to a slave husband if his wife went willingly with the master was incalculable (1989: 245-246).

As I mentioned earlier in the dissertation, Benjamin Browser (2008), sheds light on an issue that deserves attention and research, the historical raping of African American women. Browser introduced an aspect of the historical rapes that is rarely discussed in the literature, the resulting splintered relationship between Black men and women. Browser states, "There were untold incidents of White night riders who visited prosperous Black farmers, threatening them if they did not leave, raping the farmers' wives and daughters, and then burning down houses and barns for good measure. The impact of this history is with us to this day in *traumatized Black family systems* (2008:

48). Browser introduces the issue of the traumatized Black families, the long-term affect of the total institution of Jim Crow, which is rarely presented in the sociological literature. He mentions that there are untold incidents that are invisible in the historical fabric of the memory of U.S. history. The physical and psychological trauma and injury on African American women and families is still unaddressed. Browser states:

> Memories of the lynchings, rapes, and burnings have been deeply buried and kept as family secrets among these students' elders. Many students found out that their relatives had been lynched or a great-grandmother and her daughters had been raped by night riders. The lynchings of their relatives sometimes were covered in the local newspapers, but the rapes were only evident in family members who afterward were mysteriously light-skinned (2008: 48).

The memories of these rapes, for African American men and women, are filled with a sense of lack of control, yet agency. The Black women could have fought off her White attacker but that would result in, most instances, death for her and her family. The African American man could have fought the White man but this could lead to death and destruction for him and his family. The precariousness of the situation is evident, Black women had no choice. According to Wasco (2003), "victims of rape (and other injuries) experience a great deal of (non-posttraumatic stress) psychological distress including: damaged sense of worth, feelings of objectification, and self-blame (2003: 313). As stated earlier in the dissertation a respondent recalled how some of his siblings clearly were the result of Whites dipping into his family. As Browser states, "the rapes were only evident in family members who afterward were mysteriously light-skinned" (2008:48). The reality of the circumstances of this man's brothers did not occur to him, until he was older. His dark-skinned father left his mother when he was young. This

respondent, like most others, generally recalled these rapes with great pain, anguish, and shame. Some African American men unable to deal with their inability to protect their women, left. Browser states,

> Before learning their families; histories, students had thought the frequency of female-headed households was due strictly to poverty and lack of education in their parents' generation. They were surprised to learn that prior to the incident whether in the 1890's and 1930's, their families were intact and had husbands and wives across at least two generations. After the incident, however, the family culture reflected and protracted the trauma. For example, in one family, women socialized their daughters in subsequent generations to believe that men could not be expected to care for or protect them (2008: 48).

As we saw in the earlier narrative, the young man was unable to protect the women in his family from the White rapist, which entered their home on a Sunday afternoon. The issues that surround the historical raping of Black women, the subsequent trauma, and splintering of the relationships between these men and women deserve further research. African Americans in prominent positions were raped by White men. A prominent business owner in local Black community describes the rape of professional women:

> Influential White men would stay in the homes of Black women three days out of the week while their wives knew about it. Black women's husbands knew about it but there was nothing they could do. They [Black men] learned to live with it and they would argue about it but the women would say, 'He forced me to do it' and the husband could do nothing about it. Black teachers would be forced to have sex with principals and the superintendent. . . .If you didn't want to have sex with the superintendent then you would not be able to get a job in that county.

This man requested that the tape recorder be turned off as he recalled the rape of Black women. This kind of shame helps explain the lack of information around this issue in Black families. African American women were coerced into sexual relations with influential White men, including those running the school system, just to get or keep

their jobs. Their husbands, in some instances, knew about it, but were defenseless and unable to do anything about it.

Historically, Whites protest that they were fearful of Black men and they were trying to protect the virtue of their White women. However, Browser states, "White fear was occasionally acted out in mob violence when Whites invaded urban Black communities to rape Black women and burn property, especially if the Black area was prosperous (2008: 49). Browser is one of the few scholars that raise these important issues in his book. Some elderly African Americans have begun to reveal some of the painful memories of the past. However, there are many untold stories, and the long-lasting impact that it has had on the relationships between Black men and women is still undocumented. As time moves forward these stories and others will need to be revealed in order for the collective splintered, traumatized, and painful past that engulfs the relationships between Black men and women can begin to heal. However, it's difficult to overlook the stigma of rape.

Frontstage: Shame

Throughout the interviews respondents mentioned that Black women were ladies. A respondent in the Southeast recalls how Black women were "ladies:"

> And to be honest with you and truly, back in those days, women were not promiscuous at all. My granddaddy used to tell me that the only time he could see a lady's ankle, is when she got on, like when she would step in a car, or got on a bus or something, you still, boy you got to, (laughter). The reason he mentioned that to me, is when business skirts came out, oh boy could not believe that. That was just unbelievable to him. He could not believe that skirt. He said, boy the only time I could see a lady's ankle is when she was going up some steps or getting in a car or doing something like that. So I think it was just a change in the whole, you know, the whole value system. Yea, you know. The most, I just want to

> go back to grandparents at that age, if a young girl messed around and got pregnant, she was ostracized. The child wasn't. But that was a Black eye to the family. That was a Black eye to the girl. Shame. For the child and the family, because it was a reflection on the family, I didn't do a good job, and that was the standard back then.

The respondent challenges the historical narrative that Black women were "promiscuous" in the total institution of Jim Crow. The respondent states, "There was a whole value system." There was a "Black eye to the family, the girl, and shame" if a young girl got pregnant. However, in the total institution of Jim Crow young girls were getting raped on a daily basis and unfortunately the Black community, in some instances, didn't differentiate between the pregnancies that resulted from rape.

Earlier in the dissertation, I stated that some Blacks thought that some of the women in their communities were having 'affairs' with White men. I will explore this more in the next chapter. In addition, one of the respondents that I interviewed recalled that she and her mother were ostracized by the Black community. She only met her father once. Throughout her life she was stigmatized for being bi-racial. She was not alone; the evidence of how common the stigmatization was in the Black community is the use of the term, "kitchen babies."

Backstage: "Kitchen Babies"

Another respondent in her late seventies responds to the same question, "Can you recall any experiences your mother, father, or grandparents shared with you that they had with a White person?" The respondent recalls a story of rape:

> I remember this little boy [sighs] across the street named Charlie, he was one of my friends, we was the same age, and he was White, but his mother was lighter then I am, his mother looked White but she was Black and she married a Black man and they had a daughter who was about my complexion. Then Charlie came here with blonde hair and snow White just really, really, White. The daddy said, "I'm outta here" he left and said, "That's not my baby." Charlie went to school with us through about the first or second grade and his mother got such flack, you know in the neighborhood they said, "He was the ice man's baby." They used to deliver ice to the house and come in and put it in your icebox wrapped in those burlap bags. . .you didn't have refrigerators then, it was iceboxes, and they said, "That Charlie's daddy was the ice man." His mother finally after about a year or two she just packed him up and moved to [names place]. [She] reared him as a White boy and then when he got grown she moved back to [names place] and left him. . . .He never accepted the fact that he ever had any Black in him, but his mother reared him that way, and when his mother died that's the only time he ever came back to [names place], his sister was living there and the mother was there. He came for the funeral, his sister said, "He got there just in time for the funeral, went to the funeral, and when it was over he told her goodbye and that was it." . . .She never heard from him anymore. He was a little boy and it wasn't his fault, but the kids teased him and everything.

One respondent referred to the children of these rapes as, "kitchen babies." Thus, we see the stigma of rape on the mother and the innocent child. Goffman defines the stigma of race, "the tribal stigma of race, nation, and religion, these being stigma that can be transmitted through lineages and equally contaminate all members of a family" (1986:4). African American girls and women who survived rape faced a double stigma, race and rape. The children of these rapes bore stigma, shame, and a spoiled identity. It forced this mother and child to leave their family, community, and social networks. In a total

institution, these acts of racial violence leave the survivors and their families with an array of emotions including humiliation, self-blame, anger, rage, helplessness, and fear (Bryant-Davis and Ocampo 2005:492). Such sexual violence was at the heart of the total institution of slavery and Jim Crow, and its often concealed psychological and physical injuries that have lasted for generations.

Frontstage: Good White Folks

In the total institution of Jim Crow, the rapes of Black girls and women were an ongoing problem. In a total institution, one of the characteristics is economic control and a loss of personal safety. Frequently, White men with the promise of money lured young vulnerable girls into unsafe spaces and then raped. The promise of money, gifts, and/or work was enticing in the total institution where young girls didn't have many resources and/or opportunities. The perpetrators were aware of the impoverishment in the total institution and used it to manipulate young girls, women, and their families. The *Chicago Defender* reported the rape of a little girl in Kansas by a sixty-two year old White man ("Rape of a Little", 1915). In a total institution, young girls were susceptible to being lured in by promises of money. The economic control in the total institution left few opportunities for economic resources. The newspaper mentions the collectiveness of the experiences of African Americans; she [the child] is one of the "best citizens of the race." There were 'good White folks' who protested the treatment of African Americans and tried to do the right thing. The 62-year-old rapist admitted, "that he lured the young girl by offering her a quarter" ("Rape of a Little", 1915). He told the police that he was drunk and didn't know what he was doing. However, the police didn't believe it and

locked him up. The [White] doctor came, examined the child, and verified that the little girl had been raped. The doctor said, "there was not a question as to what had been done, and someone was guilty" ("Rape of a Little", 1915).

In Jim Crow's total institution, there were well meaning Whites who took a stand. They went against a life of socialization to resist and protest the treatment of African Americans. As we see in this quote, specifically against the rape of Black children. Unfortunately, Black mothers and fathers had to endure listening to their young daughters, as they would describe some of the horrific things that happened to them at the hands of White men in a total institution. A 92-year-old respondent in the Southwest recalls how there were Whites that wanted to help you but had to remain silent, too:

> They are much better in that those who wish, that see the injustice of the whole thing can act on it without fear of being hurt. Now I might have been a White person back there and Whites (unclear word) about Mr. (unclear name) over here and your not treating him fair, he would immediately became labeled as a nigger lover. That's dangerous, that was more dangerous than being a nigger so [laughs], so what were they supposed to do? They kept their mouths shut, but today they can speak out against it.

Whites who wanted to assist African Americans in Jim Crow's total institution were labeled as 'nigger lovers.' He made it difficult and more dangerous for Whites to assist if they wanted to. They, too, were forced to be silent and endure some of the social injustices that they witnessed. The Civil Rights Movement allowed African Americans more freedom to be citizens and to get from under the yoke of racism and discrimination. In addition, the Civil Rights Movement allowed Whites to speak their minds and fight for the social justice they felt African Americans were deprived of in this country.

Frontstage: White Doctors

The *New Journal and Guide* reported on a rape in the North Pittsburgh, PA: July 4, 1932. An 11-year old child was raped while, "delivering the [rapist] week's washing to him" ("Eleven-year-old Raped", 1932). The child was taken to a doctor to be examined; this appears to be the practice in the total institution of Jim Crow when a child is raped. However, none of the White doctors in the town would examine her. The traumatized young 11-year-old child was taken to another town, "where a White doctor examined her and verified she had been raped" ("Eleven-year-old Raped", 1932). The child is traumatized, and then the parent is forced to find a doctor that will treat the child after the brutal rape. The child is taken to another town to be treated. In Jim Crow's total institution, doctors are not obliged or required to treat the oppressed. A respondent in the Southeast recall her grandparents teaching her about good White folks.

> Well, that's, my grandmother was the one who you know would make the choice of what type of White people we would work for and because we lived on the farm we didn't work in White peoples, inside the house. We always worked in the fields. And the only, the thing demonstrated and practiced while creating good relationships with those White people who were open to, are respectable and decent behavior toward one another so she had a good report with the good White folks so she knew, she taught us to stay away from the bad White folks regardless of what kind of excuses you had to make you didn't go out there doing things that would cause you to be, uh create this favor with the bad mean White folks who were looking for some reason to abuse you anyway. You know, you just stay away from those people. You know if they come and say well I want you to work in the field today, well you got an excuse.

The respondent shares how the Whites that did reached out to African Americans and assist them in surviving the total institution of Jim Crow suffered being ostracized. In spite of the possible backlash from other Whites there were some who did what they could do for African Americans. In addition, African Americans knew the difference between the Whites that were 'bad' and Whites who were 'good.'

Frontstage: White Judges and Juries

In a total institution, the customary practice was to let the rapist go free. This practice continued through the 1960's. In several instances the jury convicted the man which meant automatic death. However, the final decision was not always left to the jury to decide. In some instances, the judge intervened in defense of the White rapist. The *Philadelphia Tribune* reported on August 6, 1960 that a White judge in Mississippi insisted that a jury meant to spare the life of the White defendant and coerced the jury into overturning their conviction. The newspaper reported that Circuit Court Judge Henry Lee Rodgers recalled the jurors the next day—prior to passing sentence saying: "I knew the jury didn't mean the verdict to read that way" ("Judge Spares Life", 1960). He told the jury it could modify the verdict on grounds some jurors did not realize the "guilty as charged" verdict made a death sentence mandatory. In this instance and throughout the dissertation, I have demonstrated the power of individual judges in the total institution of Jim Crow. The judge overturned the decision of the jury and decided that, "they didn't mean the verdict to be read the way it was" ("Judge Spares Life", 1960). The judge basically threw out the verdict and decided that he would spare the life

of the White rapist. This is consistent with the 'two types of justice,' that was pervasive in the total institution of Jim Crow.

On June 4, 1927 in Lexington, Kentucky a White rapist was freed who was under bond the headline read: "Kentucky Frees White Rapist Under Bond." A six-year-old Black girl was raped by a 54-year-White man. The child's testimony accompanied by the testimony of two White boys and a physician. The newspaper reported that the rapist, "nearly escaped being punished by a crowd of White and colored people, was accused of abusing the girl, whom he met on her way home from a store" ("Kentucky Frees Rapist", 1927). However, in this instance White and Black citizens tried to punish this White rapist.

The *Philadelphia Tribune* September 15, 1959 reported on the rape of a young Black girl in Sanford, N.C. The headline, "No Clue to White Rapist of Girl, 17," in the article, there is an emphasis placed on the character of the young girl who was raped she "was one of the nicest girls in town" ("No Clue", 1959). Despite the best effort of African American parents it was difficult to protect children from White rapist in the total institution of Jim Crow. Despite the unwritten rules of the total institution of Jim Crow White women did have a certain degree of power to assist Black women.

The Power of White Women

White Women Fighting Back for Black Women

On July 24, 1920 in the *Philadelphia Tribune* the headline read, "White Man Rapes Colored Orphan Employed by Him." In as much as the local newspapers reported the rapes, national African American papers in the north consistently reported the collective rapes in Jim Crow's total institution. The rape occurred in Charleston, West Virginia. The newspaper reported there were some White women who did what they could to assist Black women and girls from being raped. In some instances White women fought back against their husbands, fathers, and brothers. The White woman is the wife of the man who attempts to rape a Black girl. The woman risked being physically injured by her husband because she offered the young Black girl assistance when she fought back against her husband ("White Man Rapes Orphan", 1920). Throughout the total institution of Jim Crow there were White women who did what they could to help African Americans. Throughout the interviews there were many African Americans that talked about, "good White folks."

In this chapter, I have documented case after case that shows the systematic rape of African American women and young girls. I have documented the voice of the victim, the trauma that they suffered, and provided evidence that they probably suffered from some form of segregation stress syndrome. In addition, with the assistance of newspaper articles, I've provided the regularity in which these rapes occurred in the African American communities in the total institution of Jim Crow. Lastly, this chapter clearly provides proof that African American men received swift and harsh punishment when they were accused of rape in the total institution of Jim Crow. However, throughout the narratives of the respondents and the newspaper articles we see evidence that White men received little to no punishment for the raping of African American women and young girls. I provided recollections of how families reacted in the frontstage, in public and in court. I provided a few instances of backstage response. In the next chapter, I will provide narratives of how African American families dealt with the overwhelming atrocities of the total institution of Jim Crow.

CHAPTER VII

BACKSTAGE

. . . .*Throughout their entire period of bondage colored women were debauched by their masters. From the day they were liberated to the present time, prepossessing young colored girls have been considered the rightful prey of White gentlemen in the South, and they have been protected neither by public sentiment nor by law. In the South, the Negro's home is not considered sacred by the superior race. White men are neither punished for invading it, nor lynched for violating colored women and girls. . . .*Mary Church Terrell (cited in Lerner 1972: 210)

Backstage: Collective Coping Strategies

In a total institution, the frontstage—for the actor—is where the practiced lines and performances are delivered. The backstage is where the actors rest, discuss their performances, and plan their future presentations (Goffman 1959). In Jim Crow's, total institution, the backstage and frontstage spaces were not always clear and distinct. The preparation and socialization began, in some instances, as early as infancy. In the backstage African Americans learned racial etiquette and utilized it in the frontstage to survive their unpredictable social interactions with Whites. According to Lal (1986), "socialization consists of the transmission of a relevant world of 'objects' and their meanings and is an ongoing process in the life of the individual who is required to fit into new groups and learn the meanings appropriate to each of these (1986: 283).

As mentioned earlier in the dissertation, Goffman (1961) defined the backstage as, a free safe space where individuals could learn the performance and discuss interactions that occurred in the frontstage. In this chapter, I describe the ways in which African American prepared themselves for those frontstage performances in the backstage. In the

backstage, African Americans, felt free to describe their true feelings about Whites. In their efforts to deal with rape in the backstage, African Americans cloaked rape with silence. In some instances, they decided that the best strategy was silence. Some African American families decided to leave town.

In the backstage, they coped with their frontstage interactions that included racial violence and trauma. I have already noted briefly some respondents' coping actions. Here I focus on specific strategies and tactics used to survive. According to Feagin, "Countering strategies of these ever sensitive and intelligent African Americans ranged from obedience, silence, and deceptive servility; to finding everyday ways to insulate themselves and their families from White coercion; to active confrontation, including joining a local Civil Rights Movement (see also Chafe, 2001: 268-269).

One aspect of stress, chronic stress, trauma, and historical trauma is the mechanisms used to assist in coping with it in order to survive the experiences. African Americans found many ways to cope with the stress of Jim Crow. They relied on their families, the church, religion, and friends. Collective and selective denial and amnesia about particular traumatic events was utilized by African Americans.

Social Capital

Social capital is the resources that individuals have access to in their lives. Social capital includes our family—immediate and extended, neighborhood and religious communities, friends, and mentors. The first and most important agent of socialization and social capital is our families. As individuals seek to expand beyond their closet social networks, it is the social capital that we have acquired through our familial and

community networks that assist in our ability to move forward. Social capital can also include the structure of our families—which includes our fathers, mothers, grandparents, and others. Social capital includes our networks within our schools, communities, and religious organizations.

African American Churches

There is an abundance of literature that shows the importance of the church, spirituality, and their religious beliefs in helping African Americans deal with the oppressive systems of slavery and Jim Crow. Throughout the research project there were several African Americans that talked about the importance of the church in coping with the total institution of Jim Crow. One space in the African American community that was a 'safe space' to resist and gain strength was the Black church. According to Chafe, "Churches also were safe spaces for political activities, and they often housed the earliest meetings of the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People" (Chafe 2001:90).

It was common in the total institution of Jim Crow to put your entire family in danger of the repercussions of your actions. When you utilized your voice, rebelled, and resisted the consequences affected everyone in your family. You were not just an individual you were representing and implicating your entire family and sometimes the entire Black community in which you lived. Consequently, the ways in which African Americans framed their strategies for survival and spaces for resistance were tailored to empower them without jeopardizing the safety of themselves and others.

There were many ways in which the community rallied together to resist the total institution of Jim Crow through the NAACP, the church, and social organizations. A 65-year-old man remembers NAACP meetings at the local church:

> The NAACP would send people through as representatives but you had, that was a hush hush thing and it was held at a church and people were very quiet about where they were going to have these meetings because the church could be burned to the ground.

African Americans understood the danger of meetings with the NAACP but that was one of ways in which they resisted and forced change. Several participants were members of the NAACP quietly and were willing to risk their lives to see that their town became integrated. The church was also a place where the community gathered if an act of racial violence was extremely overwhelming. The pastor offered them words of comfort and reassurance. A 55-year-old shares how the church was as a place of resistance and a place to find comfort:

> The church was a very intricate part here, in this area. . .If something happened in the community. . .in fact, during integration, that was where the NAACP meetings were held at the church. There wasn't a community center. . . .That was where everything was done. It was either done at the church, or at the school. . . .If something happened, like if I say, Mrs. Patterson's son got beat up, or killed we would talk about that at church. The pastor and those people who were considered as the leaders, that was what they did. The first thing that was said was, "We need to pray." And then they would discuss among themselves how that could be corrected. There wasn't very much that could be done about it at first, because we didn't have a recourse. We talked about it in church, and how to deal with it, and that, you know, this is not the way that the Lord had intended for it to be, and those Blacks who were willing to step up to the plate and speak out, then the ministers supported them, and urged their congregations to support them—that these people were about the business of trying to make a change for us, and it was for the better. . . .That was the young people who were trying to do that and it was formed inside our community in church. We were scared but we went out there and tried to make a change. Our families, they were afraid for us, but they felt that

> there needed to be a change, and as long as we weren't physically harmed they were supportive. We were a nonviolent group. They [our parents] did not advocate violence.

The church was a place where African Americans dealt with the restrictions, violence, and oppressiveness of the total institution of Jim Crow. It was dangerous business, resisting, but with the support of the community, leaders, and God African Americans were willing to risk their lives. Throughout the community, young people formed organizations to cope and resist the total institution of Jim Crow. However, the church was not only the safe space where children were taught how to resist, it was also the place where people would go for worship, comfort, entertainment, and safety.

Backstage: God Gave Us Strength

A respondent in the Southeast recalls how God came first in their lives:

> Well, you know what, the only way you will get through anything; you've got to put God first. You have to, you have to. And, you have to just ask for guidance, you have to pray, you have to read the bible, and you, that's the only way you going to make it. Because, if you don't you, you going to fall by the waste side. You, you, that's what the bible said. Seek ye first the kingdom of heaven, so the king is God and everything else will just fall in to place. So, that's, now-a-days, that's the only way they going to make it. That's the only way. Is stay in church, you know, pray, pray a lot. Because they not going to be able to make it out there on their own. You just not going to make it. *As a young child, do you remember you mom sharing that with you in terms of God*? Oh yes. We always had to. I was 13 years old when I came up here. I think, I remember going to the movie once we had to go to prayer meeting, choir rehearsal, bible study, Sunday school, morning service, afternoon service, night service and our day was to sit in church all day on Sundays and that was it. That was it. There was no such thing as going to the movies or going to a dance or something like that so it was more or less, we was raised in the church. *And that helped you get through*? Yes

The respondent shares how God was everything in their lives. They spend most of their free time in church and he got them through. A respondent in the Southeast recalls how they didn't have anything but God:

> She [my mother] lived for the Lord and she lived for Him until she died. And I'm going to live for Him until I die. . .I know my sister will too. . .That's all we had was God. Without God we would be nothing. We didn't have nothing else to look forward to but God. So she always told us about God. I think we just, we was strong because we believe in God. And without Him we just couldn't do nothing. God, he kept us strong. That's what I think. . . .That's all we had to do was go to school and church. And we had to walk to church. We didn't have no car. Cause most of the time you stayed at church, well practically the whole day. And you walked there and you stayed. You had to walk cause we didn't have a car. [*So when things happen do you think like when things happen that weren't good to Black people is it God, did people go to the church to find strengt*h?] I think so. Cause there is no other place that you can go without, well you could go to their home but mostly we go to church. And in the evening we get together and get more strength. Like a rope. You tie one flat, you put another flat, or even like a fire place when the fire in the fireplace, you put one log on there it burns bright. You put another log on there it burns a little bit brighter and when you all together like that it makes you strong. *That is just beautiful.* Without that I don't know, we didn't have nothing. Without God. Going to church was great.

The respondent spoke eloquently about their belief in God and the strength they found in their belief and in their church. A respondent in the Southeast talks about the importance of God in their lives:

> I was raised in the church . . .my daddy he was a minister. . .We'd go to church but you see when we went to church we, he'd hitch up the mule to the wagon and we had kids sitting on the wagon and that's how we went. We rode on the wagon to church, daddy would tie up the mule and we'd all go in to church.

Another respondent in the Southeast recalls the importance of church:

> *[How did the way Blacks were treated make you feel?]* [It] made me feel bad but if you look at worrying, if you let that worry them there would be some Black that wouldn't last too long. You just go along with life and

> pray you know. Ask the lord to watch over you.] *So you think the church played a big part during segregation*?] Oh yes, they did. A lot of White want to know how you can come up with a smile all the time and you're happy. You know, Black people you always see them always laughing. They aint' got nothing but their still laughing. They don't understand that part. That is our belief in God. He is our strength.

There were many respondents that emphasized that they 'didn't have nothing.' However, they had God and they had their church, which made all the difference. It sustained them throughout the total institution of Jim Crow. The church was and is very important in the African American community. However, I want to focus on some of the other ways that African Americans coped and the strategies they utilized that are not commonly known.

Backstage: The Stress of Travel Learning to Hold It

A respondent in the Southwest talks about the stress of traveling in the total institution of Jim Crow:

> When you are in grammar school, you don't be going be going to trips and stuff like that and to games. And in high school we [would go, you know, we would take part in things like that. And when we went off, uh, we…you were not allowed to use the rest room, when they'd stop at a filling station you could get a soda because they were out front in a box. But you couldn't use the bathroom. So you would wherever you were going you had to be prepared to hold it from one place to another. Well at the time, when you young and you need to go to a bathroom, it's very, that's the time when it really hurts. . . . .You couldn't go to the bathroom, you could buy soda water, you could fill the bus up with [gas, but you couldn't go to the bathroom. And that was another thing, that faucet, what I could never understand is, you know, the drinking. What difference would it make when the water would come up? But you were still afraid to go drink it from that faucet because we had them, they had them in the courthouse.

The respondent shares how it was physically painful to 'hold it.' They [Whites] needed you for their economic stability, yet you couldn't use the fountains, bathrooms, or

restaurants. The experience of traveling for most Whites was a joyous occasion would be filled with problems and stress for African American.

Backstage: We Stayed Home

There were some African Americans who ventured out and traveled. However, there were many African Americans that coped with the total institution of Jim Crow by staying home or close to home. A respondent in the Southwest was asked how she and her family coped and survived. She stated:

> Well by not going out a lot. The only thing was like stores and doctor's office. You knew that you had to wait. You know, like going to the dentist, I'd go to the dentist and you'd sit there and wait and wait. And I would, it was a certain time you could take a child out of school and so they wouldn't be absent. So I think it was like two o'clock and one day I picked up one of the children to go to the dentist. . .I was like about five or ten minutes late. And when I walked in, anytime you walk into the doctor's office, it's usually their wives, if it's a family member that works in the office, they the ones that usually cause the trouble. And she told me, "You missed your appointment." I said, "You mean to tell me when I sit here for almost an hour sometimes waitin' for my appointment and I'm ten minutes late because of the train, I've missed my appointment?" I said, "Well thank you." I just rescheduled and left.

In the total institution of Jim Crow, African Americans lost time and energy dealing with the whims of Whites. If they were on time they waited for hours to be seen by a doctor or a dentist. However, if they were a few minutes late, they were forced to reschedule. A way to cope was to stay at home and only deal with Whites when they had to. A respondent in the Southwest recalls how they coped by keeping to themselves and staying home:

> But they wasn't his cows they was on the farm. Plantation. I remember that. [was it your farm?] No Whites. White farm…He never brought no. We didn't own nothing. . . Got grown and brought our own. My dad he did not like. He didn't like the city no way. He moved far back in the

> woods as he could go. Yes he did. He said he didn't want to be around nobody, especially Whites. You couldn't raise anything. He just got off by himself. He just never was the kind that want to I guess mix [pause] with um [lowers voice] them. [Then begins talking louder] Black people and Spanish just like I said that's all we know. He had some White friends. I guess my mom had some White friends cause she worked long years ago. She worked all the time.

The respondent cautiously talks about how her father just wanted to get away from Whites. They didn't own anything in the total institution of Jim Crow. There were many respondents who did everything they could to stay to themselves. It wasn't easy when Whites owned everything.

Backstage: We Were Happy with What We Had

A respondent in the Southwest recalls being happy with what they had in the total institution of Jim Crow:

> So, but, we never thought anything about not having a school bus, we didn't know anything about school buses and such, we saw the school buses go by going to the White schools, and it had "School bus" on it, didn't mean anything to us, cause we didn't have one so we didn't, baby, at those times, you took what you had and you were satisfied with it, because that's all you knew.

There were African Americans that understood that they had to find contentment with what they had in the total institution of Jim Crow. The educational and economic prospects for African Americans were not good. Many African Americans recalled how in order to survive and not be angry and frustrated, they accepted it.

Backstage: I Accept My Position

In the Southwest a respondent recalls coping by accepting second class citizenship:

> Because I'm tired of chasing that dream of being really equal with them with folks cause I ain't going to make it, I'm doing all right, I'm not rich, but I'm doing all right. I would really like to see the younger people who are really coming out doing great, cause they going to college. When I joined the army in 1941, I wanted to be a pilot. But you know what they told me, they said, naw you can't be no pilot, you got to have at least five years of college, plus some more year of like flying a plane. Anybody can fly a plane. But you know what, I had a buddy that knew how to fly a jet and one day he invited me to go in the plane and I asked him if it was easy and he said yes and you know, on the spot he showed me how to fly a helicopter? And I flew a helicopter. But they tell you they don't want no Black people, aint go sense enough. That's what the White folks wanted to input in your mind, that we couldn't do it, but we know better. We can do whatever they do and we can do it better. We have proved it.

A way to deal with the overwhelming inability of Whites to view African Americans as equal was to accept their second position in society. There were many African Americans who gave up on dreaming for a better life in the total institution of Jim Crow. In the backstage, they came to terms with the way things were for them.

Backstage: "Silence Wasn't Golden"

Kristen Hood (2003) argues, "My grandmother made me a present of the past" (2003: v). Silence about the experience is an aspect of segregation stress syndrome, Audre Lorde argues, "Your silence will not protect you" (1984: 41). To begin the process of healing African Americans survivors of Jim Crow decided to abandon the code of silence and become a symbol of the particular realities of Jim Crow that are rarely discussed. The "pain at last finds a voice and begins to tell a story" (Scarry 1985: 3). They have begun to experience a healing that only comes with releasing the truth for others to hear, understand, and witness. Their truths of what their everyday experiences

were as they lived within a totalitarian system of oppression, legalized Jim Crow—apartheid.

The collective silence is important because the ways in which the experiences of the survivors. We've seen this type of framing of experiences with the slave narratives and films that portray the enslaved African Americans as happy, free loving, and content. During the course of several of the interviews, respondent's asked, "Are you sure nobody is going to hear this?" There was a collective silence that permeated throughout the African American community. In some instances, it was using denial as a coping strategy. According to van der Kolk, McFarlane, and Weisaeth,

> Many personal testimonies of trauma survivors indicate that not being supported by the people they counted on, and being blamed for bringing horrendous experiences upon themselves, have left deeper scars than the traumatic event itself. . . .Victims often feel the same way about themselves: they feel ashamed and disgusted by their failure to prevent what has happened. Thus, for victims, a breach in the relationship to their expectations of themselves and of their culture becomes part of the traumatic experience (2006: 27).

A respondent in the Southwest recalls how they used silence to cope with the total institution of Jim Crow when asked if she was given advice on how to deal with White people:

> Oh yeah, you're going to hear people telling you different thing about what to do, but I think that your best experience is what you learn for yourself, because sometimes following some other people, it might, not be the best thing on certain things, cuz' some may have violence, you know, how you space it, go at it, and if you not into that, well you can start some violence by expressing too much, you know, when you don't got no voice. That's how I feel about it. [*Can you give me an example of maybe what they said?*] Well you know, you if you talking with someone and just talk about it what they say "oh well I wouldn't take this" about such and such a thing and " I done did such and such a thing" well if you did that, you ain't doing nothing but making it harder on yourself because

> you know you don't have no voice and if you tried to take it court, or whatever, or go see a lawyer, well you still going to their color so you still, you...you can't win the battle. [do you pass any advice on to your children, like tell them I guess your wisdom?] Well, so far I have you know, I try to teach them that everything come up sometime, and you can't, you know, let it have its way, or your hurting yourself. That's good, but its time for all things, and there's a place for all things, sometimes you can speak too fast and then sometimes you can't speak fast enough, you know. To let this person know how you do feel, so cuz', sometime you have some, you raise some kids that is quick tempered, they uh, you know, they say "I just ain't going to do this, today" and " I ain't going to do that" but you can't say what you ain't going to do, you can't do that. [She begins to cry]. I know that we have the Black race people and you know they had a hard time and, and its still ain't what you'd call real good, right now, cuz' you still got, got that little segregation going on, they try to hid it but its still there [tears are more heavy, I feel as though I can see her pain through her eyes…and so I too begin to cry]… its still there. [I'm so so sorry.]

We see the symptoms of segregation stress syndrome in the ways in which this respondent begins to cry when she recalls how silence was used to deal with the total institution of Jim Crow. However, silence didn't help deal with the trauma. The pain of living through the total institution of Jim Crow is apparent with this woman crying thinking about the ways in which she and Black people as a collective were treated by Whites. After a short break, the interview continues with a question [How often did you interact with White people growing up?]

> Well I've been around them all my life. . . I've really haven't had what I would call any real trouble out of them. It's just, you know, I'd be around them and I know that they still didn't care for me…I don't know. I just don't know how to put it today. You see things you don't like; you know you can't do nothing about it. You just go ahead on, that's kind of the way that is. [How do you deal with that today? Like racism and discrimination?] Oh I, I uh try my best to just kind of push them back, because you see too much and it kind of gets on your nerves, and then you think well, we know its not real, we know that slavery is suppose to be over with and all like that, but if they could they would bring it right back, if they could, and there are some that really want to put you on the

> back burner, but sometimes you have to kind of stick with who's there, and when I say stick up for yourself you do it in the right way. [By this time she is speaking directly to me] You don't go in there cursing and going on like that, but you tell them what you think, you let them know that you, you got a mind, you know, but you still know what they feel like they in control. . . . [but] let them know that you, you are a human too. . . [Y]ou would like to have respect too because you are Black does not mean that. . .you need to be treated like your not nobody. [Pauses] and you find some [Whites] and they just as good as gold, I mean they just as good as a Black is towards you. Just like you another one, just a human being. That's all you want, that's all I would want. I don't care about them, they don't have to hug and kiss me. Just treat me nice, that's all I ask.

The respondent mentions how they were human being, too. African Americans didn't need for Whites to show outward affection, they just wanted to be respected. The respondent mentions that there were some Whites who were, "as good as gold." Throughout the interviews there were African Americans that mentioned the kindness of Whites. However, African Americans did use silence as a way to cope with life in the total institution of Jim Crow.

According to McGuire, in the memoirs of Melba Patillo, "one of the Little Rock Nine recalls an incident in which she was chased by a White man who intended to rape her. The White rapist ripped off her underwear in an attempt to rape her. The White man yelled, "I'll show you niggers that the Supreme Court can't run my life" (McGuire 2010:112). She escaped and ran home to tell her parents about the incident. After some deliberations between her grandmother, mother and her father out of the listening view of Melba. Her family emerged and encouraged her, "not to feel ashamed for the attack" (McGuire 2010:112). Her father stated, "We ain't gonna call the law. Those White police are liable to do something worse to her than what already happened. Survival

sometimes required that silence surround sexual violence; especially in an environment poisoned by the fierce backlash to Brown" (McGuire 2010: 113).

Rape was used as a means of social control. In the backstage, family members had to negotiate how to handle the rape and attempted rape of their daughters. This family, as I am sure many other families did in the total institution of Jim Crow, decided that they would be silent about the attempted rape and they would continue to reassure their daughter that she had nothing to be ashamed of and she could just "wash the evil of the White rapist away" (McGuire 2010:113). We see, too, the intergenerational transmission of trauma; we have the grandmother and the parents of the victim discussing in the backstage what to do.

Socialization Lessons in the Backstage: Watching Parents

According to the narratives, Black and White children learned their "place" in the total institution, often by observing how their parents behaved (Ritterhouse 2006). This older woman shares how she does not shop in a store today because of an experience long ago:

> When I was a little girl, and [names store] people came to the house and talked to [my mother] real nasty, I remember that. Really nasty. I mean they called her nigger-this, nigger-that. . . She made us leave the house. And I would cry. I would think, "Why are they picking on her?" When they left, we, me and my brother, would take off and run in the house. . . . If she was in tears, she wouldn't let us see. She protected us. And when she paid them she told me, "Whatever y'all do when you grow up, do not buy anything from [names store] because they are very, very prejudiced." . . . I don't think it's got no better really. It's just hidden more.

A fundamental aspect of a child's learning comes from watching what the adults in their life do. The child learned the rules of racial etiquette through witnessing and these

children experienced the trauma of being afraid for their mother. In the backstage this mother hides her tears from her children; we see the fronstage bleeding into the backstage.

In Jim Crow's total institution, it was not just one person or one event, "they and people;" it was cumulative and systematic. Note the learning—not using the person's name and the molding of identity of Black children, which often demanded that they be invisible, or at least submissive. Goffman (1961) states, in a total institution, "the most significant of possessions is not physical at all, [it is] one's full name . . . loss of one's name can be a great curtailment of the self" (1961: 18). The continuous use of the word "nigger" by Whites of various ages imposed a racial identity on youth, and deep psychological scars seem to remain for most respondents in the present. Here we see the mother in the backstage trying to protect her children from witnessing her interactions with the White salesperson. She hides her tears from her children coupled with the child's backstage behavior of crying outside to keep her mother from seeing how upset she is.

One man, in his late seventies, had a look of deep seriousness and sometimes spoke with sarcasm, as he describes his first significant encounter with Whites in the 1930s when his mother bought him a present. He remembers the incident as a turning point in life:

> She had brought me a bicycle on time . . . I paid Ray fifteen dollars. . . .I didn't get a receipt. . . .When my mother went there to pay the next time we were a month behind on the bicycle. . . . He told mama that I didn't pay him. I said, "I paid you.". . .He said, "Nigger don't you never call me a liar! I said you didn't pay me!" I said, "Oh yes sir Mr. Ray I paid you and I am not telling no lie." . . .[Mother said] "Come on son let's go". . .

> .He didn't too much like what I had said, and the police come up to my house after this was all over with. The police ask, "Where is this boy they call Bobbie?" I told him, "My name is Johnnie Monroe but they call me Bobbie." "Nigger, you being smart with me!" I said, "No I'm not being smart.". . .He said, "Pull your hat off your head." I said, "For what." He said, "Don't no nigger stand up and talk to me face to face with no hat on his head. You get that hat off your head!" My mama said, "Take your cap off your head son. Take it off! Take it off!" . . .He told mama he didn't want to have no more trouble with me. Because if he do he was going to send me off for a long time. So that night my mama and my daddy talked to me and told me the way the White man think, and the way the White man do and the best way to get along with him. . . .Say "yes sir," and "no sir." . . .White man was something else when I was coming up. He would hit you. He would kick you. He would beat you. He would kill you and there was nothing your parents could do about it.

In a total institution, there is a hierarchy; ordinary Whites have the power to sanction violators of the rules of racial etiquette. Violations often prompted "fear of penalization" (Goffman 1961: 179). The mother is aware of the penalty, which explains why she yelled at her son to take off his hat. The storeowner understands that he had the authority to summon the legitimate authority to send the young man a message; you don't talk to a White man in a defiant manner. This youngster garnered his first realization that he had violated the rules. In both instances, in Jim Crow's total institution, there is the perception that the Black respondents are "untrustworthy and guilty." Note, in both incidents, there is a monetary debt, which prompts a harsh response from ordinary Whites—and Whites in power. We see the use of what probably is the country's harshest epithet by the White adults, who thereby imposed a negative racial identity and possibly strip individuals of a sense of dignity. Once in the backstage, the parents engage in a language lesson—the language of deference and humility, which is essential in Jim Crow's total institution.

A respondent in the Southeast shares how he watches his mother and learns how to function in the total institution of Jim Crow:

> It was important that you were respectful when you were out. You didn't want to be disrespectful to Whites. . . .it was important that you were not disrespectful to Whites. . . I heard stories of the Ku Klux Klan . . . I didn't want to encounter those things. They [Blacks] did not want to encounter those things. . .if you meet someone down the street it was, "yes sir," "No ma'am. . .My mother, when she encountered difficulties, she was very submissive. . .No, Well, I'm sorry. . . [She] tried to appease whatever the situation was as best as she could to make that situation a good situation. . .I have seen, in the store. . .she was there at the counter to be waited on, and another White woman would come up and instead of them going ahead and waiting on my mother, they would go ahead and wait on them, [the Whites] and Mother didn't say anything—she just stepped back and waited and let them do that, and then she took her turn. I didn't understand what was going on. . .I thought that was just a way of life. . .'yes sir,' 'no madam,' that was the way it was instilled in me to do it, so that White society would consider you as a child that was being well trained by the parents. . .I'm not an very aggressive person. . .I will acquiesce to you and keep the peace. . .I think it's just kind of instilled in me and a part of my nature

The respondent heard about the Klan and the things that they did to African American and he didn't want it to happen to him. We see the intergenerational transmission of trauma. He watched his mother and learned how to negotiate around Whites. He equates his desire to keep peace as a result of watching his mother in the total institution of Jim Crow. Indeed, Goffman (1961) mentions, in a total institution the [restricted] are required to say, 'sir' and beg for something humbly. During his interview, he seemed to view the language of deference—saying, "yes sir and no sir"—as an act of both survival and resistance.

Backstage: You Are as Good as Whites

In the total institution of Jim Crow, African Americans had to work overtime to instill a positive sense of identity into their children. The strong sense of identity was reinforced by the church, community, and teachers, it was a collective effort. A respondent in the Southeast learned to hold his head high:

> Well you know, you only interacted with your own and it was like you internalized it and you knew it was there but you tried to act human anyway because there was so much, you know to dehumanize you so you would try to rise about it by dealing with your own dignity and that was done through the church that we were all God's children. I was [taught] I could be anything I wanted to be, all I had to do was work hard for it and that there's going to come a time when all of this is going to melt away and that we'd be viewed as equal. . . .So it was a little thing that your parents were telling you and that the people in the community, they always encouraged kids in a positive way. Stay in school, go to church, listen to your parents, you can do anything you want to do, I know you are going to be a doctor or I know you are going to be a teacher. We had role models to emulate, you know, there was a trust for Black people.

The community, church, and parents instilled as sense of dignity and identity in children. In the total institution of Jim Crow where, "there was so much. . .to dehumanize you" Blacks taught their children that they could do anything they wanted to do. The respondents says, "one day we would be viewed as equal."

A respondent in the Southwest recalls being taught by family members that African Americans were just as good as Whites:

> We were taught to respect them, yeah. We also taught that we were not their equals, they didn't consider us their equal, but we were always told that we were as good as anybody. We knew our place. Like I said, when we were in stores, we were not—if we wanted something we got—picked up the item or had my father or my grandfather or whoever it was, to get the item for us. We don't go through store and pick up stuff. We did not, because we knew our place. [What if you did?] I would imagine that we would have gotten some what of a tanning because our parents were very

> strict on us. I mean, you just didn't disobey. My didn't, didn't tolerate a child being indifferent from his instruction. He just did not tolerate it. We knew better. [Do you pass that advice on to you children?] Teaching them that they are inferior? Oh, no. no, no, no. I teach my children, uh un, NO. no,no,no,no,no. We were told the inferior stories, I don't mean that he taught us that, we were told those stories, but we had to maintain a place. . . .We were told that we were as good as anybody else, but unfortunately that's the way it was. We lived in the country, how are you going to be—and everything you got is coming from him [Whites]. The seeds that you putting in the ground are coming from him. Your fertilizer is coming from him. The ties that your getting is coming from him. The boots that your getting—how are you going to—especially from these old Blacks people, how are they going to get above that? There was just no outlet, like I told my father, my grandfather was a favored Black man and that he had the help of judges, of lawyer, or people that just wanted to succeed. And that's why he was so successful. He was not an educated man. These are stories that my mamma told me, that's how I know.

The respondent amplifies the contradictions with what African Americans thought about themselves in terms of their identity vs. the way they were treated by Whites. African Americans knew that they were better than what Whites would say and the ways in which they were treated. In Jim Crow's total institution African Americans had to deal with a double consciousness. He states, "no I didn't teach them the inferior stores . . .but we knew our place." Even though he said that he was taught they were as good as Whites, there is evidence that they were given conflicting explanations of how things operated in Jim Crow's total institution.

In a total institution, the backstage didn't offer you protection from individual or group backstage intruders. The lynchings often involving dozens (sometimes hundreds) of people, was typically done by "normal everyday" Whites. In a total institution, the institutionalized are not allowed to protect their women, their children, or their homes. In a total institution, the backstage, is where individuals are suppose to have 'free space', in

reality, there were frequent intrusions by Whites. A respondent in the Southwest recalls how he coped with Jim Crow:

> My brother knows all about what went on, because me and him were just like that. When I was somewhere, he was right there with me. Me and him were working for a guy bailing hay and we are out of school, and wanted a job, so we were bailing hay. So, we was working there, helping him tie the hay down and go put it in the shed. So all of a sudden we went home to eat, we didn't have much to eat, we had some food there, we had bread, and Santa's Bakers would always bring bread and cookies and stuff and daddy would pay for it. But we was out there and we went home at twelve to eat and we went in and ate peanut butter and jelly sandwiches, and drank some, drank some water, didn't have no ice, didn't have a refrigerator like that, running water. So we did that and so the ole guy come out there, "Yall ready to go back?" We said, "yeah." So, we was going back to where he was bailing the hay, he stopped and was talking to another White guy that was doing the same thing. And they was talking and he said, "Well, guess I better go see what my Niggers are doing." Me and my brother looked at him. (Paused) I said well, I tell you what, this was it. So we just backed off right here and got out of the car and walked back to the house. Then when you were young men like we were, I must have been twelve and he was ten, or maybe 13 and 11, somewhere in there. You have to go through these things. And then they still like to made that statement, "Have to go see what my Niggers are doing." So we left that alone. Instead of being, you know, treated like that, I rather not have a job. We already knew dad was going to take care of us, but if you want something extra, you gotta get a job. But it wasn't work it to get treated like that, then get somebody else to treat like that, not me.

In the respondents narrative we see the implications and pain associated with the N-word. The use of the N-word and the impact it had on the two young boys was substantial. Yes, they needed the job but they knew that they were better and they refused to be treated like they weren't human. The N-word in the total institution of Jim Crow represented, a symbol of being less human and not worthy

Backstage: Curfews, Guns, and Alcohol

Time Schedules – Be in by Dusk

In the total institution of Jim Crow Whites, often, acting under cover of night collectively imposed racial violence. Blacks thought to have violated the racial etiquette laws or customs were often targets, though some violence was less instrumental. Here a former professor, when asked to recall his first memory of encounters with Whites, describes the warnings of his mother and the everyday reality of racial violence:

> My mother used to insist that I always be in the yard before the sun go down. I could not understand that. Until one day, they call them night riders, they kidnapped a Black kid and they sodomized him and castrated him. My mother said, "Now you see why I want you to stay in the house." . . .Night riders would come, White guys would come to the Black community in trucks and cars and kidnap Black kids and stuff of that nature. . . . That happened in other communities. . . . I'm sure the adults knew who these people were. But who could they turn to. There was nobody. The NAACP would send people through as representatives but you had, that was a hush, hush thing and it was held at a church and people were very quiet about where they were going to have these meetings because the church could be burned to the ground. It happened in other communities. . .Black people just disappeared.

Reflecting on the brutality routinely underpinning Jim Crow's total institution, this man describes the severe physical and psychological injuries suffered by racially targeted Black families. Black citizens did sometimes resist, thereby risking violence on a larger scale, including the burning of churches and lynchings (Tolnay and Beck 1992; Dray 2003) because of political meetings.

We see the need to warn children to stay inside. In the backstage children heard stories which make them more susceptible to segregation stress syndrome. A respondent in the Southwest recalls how she warned her son:

> Like my son be down there and he called back, "hey mama I'm in this town. Ain't nothing here, but peckerwoods." And I would say "boy you better shut your mouth cuz' them people will carry you back down there in those woods and kill you and we'll never find your body." There's a lot of Black people that have been killed or hung and their bodies have never been found. And they don't do nothing to them White people. Now you got, you got a little leeway, but I STILL don't trust them, I don't trust them folk. That's the way they are. That's the way it is.

Indeed, you didn't need to witness the traumatic event, or experience it; the hearing of the traumatic event is enough to have a negative impact on your psychological well-being. In addition, the respondents' state, "Black people just disappeared" "Kill you and we'll never find your body." Throughout the research project the respondents mentioned that they didn't want their children to end up dead somewhere and they would never be able to find the body. In the literature there are numbers and statistics that give an idea of the number of African American men, women, and children that were killed in the total institution of Jim Crow. However, the respondent states that individuals would disappear which leads one to wonder if we do have an accurate picture of the 'real' number of Blacks that were killed at the hands of "person's unknown." In addition, we see the issue of trust that several of the respondents mentioned in their interviews.

Frontstage Interactions: Don't Trust Them and Keep Your Distance

Black Americans, long taught to repress anger, often adopted general mistrust for White Americans as a coping strategy. Emphasizing her words, another respondent reports being taught as child similar lessons about Whites by significant adults in her life:

> I was always told, "don't trust the White man." To tell you the truth I don't trust him today, not too much. . . . My dad and in school they would tell you. . . . The teachers. . . .Yeah, they would tell you. They would just

> say don't trust them because you might get hurt, or they said, "Don't trust them because you don't know whether they would turn on you or not." Don't befriend them too much. It is alright to befriend them, but not too much. Don't put too much confidence in them. Because they will laugh in your face today and go home and tell their parents something, and then you are subject to wake up with your house on fire. . . . Because the Black man was just, he was just a tool for nothing but working.

Once more, the ever present threat of physical violence generates a rational distrust of Whites, across the generations and most sectors of Black communities. In these accounts, we constantly observe the central importance of families in enabling members to survive oppression. Parents and grandparents teach lessons of caution and distancing to children and grandchildren (Ritterhouse 2006).

These insightful accounts add to our understanding of how Jim Crow operated as a system of quotidian violence to human bodies and minds. In everyday life, African Americans responded to Whites and racist practices, not surprisingly, with caution, distrust, and distancing. An older child care worker, who earlier in her interview speaks about being scared for her mother, adds this comment, "my mama told me, 'To always keep my distance from White folks.'. . . She said, 'You can't trust them. They will grin and smile in your face but they are not your friend.' This is what I tell my children."

Raising youngsters meant a great expenditure of energy and time in teaching them how to deal with oppressive Whites, and thereby to protect them from some harm. This brief narrative again speaks to the effects of living in a total institution and experiencing racial traumas. Many of her experiences occurred fifty years earlier, yet she still instructs her children to distance themselves from often-untrustworthy Whites, who she feels as a group can't be trusted. We see the intergenerational transmission of trauma and a

mistrust for an entire group based on historical trauma. Reflecting on working conditions in the fields where she used to work in North Carolina, another elderly respondent develops this view in more detail:

> I just don't have any trust. . . . They had like strawberry season to pick strawberries. . . . I can remember . . . when you're going through those working conditions, they kind of treated you like cattle. . . . I can remember that but it was like one of those things that you never let it bother you cause you know you had to work, you had to bring the money in, so you did what you had to do to survive. But it never got to a point where we just said, "We hate White people." I can't stand them, but I didn't hate them. And to this day I just don't have any trust, I don't trust them and I really don't like them. . . . As I get older I come to realize how hateful they were and that's when I started to tell my grandkids how things was as far as getting educated and you know, they always consider you second class no matter how educated you are. And you have to work twice as hard as them to get where you want to get.

Like most African Americans in other research studies (see Feagin and Sikes 1994), this woman links her ongoing assessments of Whites to her direct experience, in this case to migrant farm work experiences under Jim Crow (see also Marks 1989; Tolnay and Beck 1992). Acceptance of being treated with hostility and like cattle was necessary for survival. Reportedly, this memorable experience, communicated now to her grandchildren, did not lead to hatred but to caution and distrust.

Coping with Guns and Alcohol

In the total institution of Jim Crow, African Americans had diverse strategies to cope with Jim Crow. We've seen that some African Americans went to church, stayed home, distrusted Whites, and some drank to cope with the system while others carried guns. A respondent in the Southeast recalls how her dad always had a gun by his side:

> My dad use to have his gun by his side, he didn't allow White men to see us. If a White man came to our house to sell something or pick up

> payment for a bill, my dad would tell us girls to go in the house and stay out of sight. He knew about the bad things that happened to girls and he didn't want it to happen to us. We would stay out of sight and hide.

A respondent in the Southwest recalls learning to stay away from places with liquor in the total institution of Jim Crow:

> We did not go in anyplace where they sold liquor or uh…you know anywhere where they had anybody. . . .And so sometimes they [Whites would] stop and ask us [to come in] on our way back from lunch but we never would go in. We were afraid to go in. . . .We didn't want anything to happen.

As the respondent states, 'they asked us to come in.' She knew that going into a place with Whites where alcohol was being consumed was dangerous for her. Throughout the total institution of Jim Crow young girls had to constantly negotiate spaces where White men were around. In both cases, we see how young girls were taught to be weary and protect themselves.

Another respondent remembers the consequences of drinking and how African Americans used it to deal with the pain of an oppressive system. The system destroyed some of the young brilliant African American minds. A respondent in the Southeast recall how the system destroyed African Americans:

> One of the brightest guys I even met in [names place], died several years back. . .he had a drinking problem, but he told me how he got that drinking problem. You see what I'm saying? You never know how many minds have been destroyed, I mean bright minds; have been destroyed behind that system. Black institutions that were out there, they were supreme institutions. They were doing some educating. Even with those inferior textbooks, they were doing some educating. Put in a whole lot of common sense and knowledge, not just theory. . . I have three years of college and just couldn't make it, financial things were bad and everything, but you got an education. All those who had got a B.S. or B.A. and they had to ride around in the back of a trash truck. I'm not degrading that because they take care of their families. But that's not the

> idea of what education and degrees is all about. Don't tell me to get educated when there is no opportunity for me to use my education.

The respondent shares how there were men in the community that dealt with the total institution of Jim Crow, "the system" by drinking. In the literature, drinking is one of the ways in which individuals dealt with oppression and trauma. One of the consequences of an oppressive system is the loss of brilliant and promising minds similar to the man that the respondent mentions.

A respondent in the Southeast recalls that she couldn't understand why her parents drank so much:

> So when I look back I had desired myself to be a good person. Now, the reason I said that, my background is from parents that drank, *a lot* [emphasizes]. I m trying to figure out when my mother started drinking . . . .when I was 9 years old we moved from the projects to a home. . . my dad got it from these people at a White church that he worked with. But it seems to me that when we made that move my mother was drinking more. My mother would send us to Ms. Mary's, on the next street to go it [alcohol] for her. So we would go get her a shot and like and baby shot bottle…and my mom would drink. My mother would get drunk…(sigh) I never lost respect for my mother, but I was ashamed because sometimes she would be cursing, then my dad would be cursing. My dad was a peaceful man. He would drink, but then he would go in bed and sleep. When my momma was she would go in and pull the cover off and just aggravate him then they might start to fight. Then what happens is the police come to my house, lights flashing. And then my mother would start crying "don't take him, don't take me!" and she called them, but didn't want them to take him. So that's what I grew up with. And myself I wanted to be better. I wanted to be a good person, which I am, a very good person. I had 2 brothers and a sister, now I am finding out that I have another brother. He was around occasionally, whenever he did come around he and my mother would always get into a fuss because he was supposed to belong to someone else, but now that I'm grown I am finding out that he belonged to her, but she never really admitted it to us [The brother was biracial]. So I can't really get real close to him, but I'm trying but he is just…different.

The respondent shares how her mother drank a lot, she couldn't understand why. However, at the end of the narrative I think she has an idea about what happened to her family. The mother had a biracial son that didn't live with them, but occasionally would come by the house. The mother didn't reveal that it was her son. However, the respondent found out later that he was her brother. The respondent gives us a clue as to what was happening in this family. In the total institution of Jim Crow White men didn't care if you were married or not, if they wanted you. The respondent's mother was either sexually coerced or raped and became pregnant. The respondent didn't share where her brother lived or grew up. However, in the African American community women sent the children of these rapes to live with family members out of town.

In addition, another respondent shared how her mother was run out of town by the Black community when she was born, she, too, was biracial. The woman was ostracized by the African American community throughout her life because of the circumstances of her birth. A respondent in the Southwest recalls how Whites got more violent when they drank alcohol:

> I know, people when they drinking they say things normally they wouldn't say when they drinking. When people get to drinking, they say things that they wouldn't, and I don't care about being around them, cause I don't think. I ain't never had no trouble with nobody, never have had no trouble with nobody. Ain't done nothing in my life, so to go to the jail house. . . I think I'd go crazy if I was to get in jail. That's the reason why I don't fool around over there, I don't go anywhere hardly, trouble is too easy to get in. There's always somebody out there, you know when I was a little boy, you go to town, go off in town, I wouldn't walk down a sidewalk that the law [police] was on, I'd get on the other side, if I had to pass him or he was meeting me, I'd get on the other side, the other street and go. He coming this way, and I'm going that a way, I see him, I'm gone over there and go that a way till I pass him. I just couldn't stand that man with that gun on. And he use to come down to my grandfather

> house every Sunday, my grandfather made that ole bootleg beer, sit up there and play that ole hill-billie records, and drank that beer. But I didn't give a damn to see that man with that gun on. My grandpa he kept his piece, he liked to wore his gun and walk on whenever he leave out the house, he kept his gun. . . .I get on the other side of the street, god damn I couldn't stand to pass that man with that gun. . I was just scared of that man with that gun on. Ain't done a thing, but I just can't stand to pass him. That man use to come down to the house every Sunday morning cause my grandfather had two 10 gallon crocks, had something ready for him every weekend. And they'd come down there and sit on the porch and just drank that shit and talk.

The respondent mentions how afraid he was of the police and their guns. He knew that when they came to drink alcohol with his grandpa that anything might happen. The police were hired to protect the citizens. However, for African Americans they were a reminder of racial violence and unpredictable behavior.

Backstage: A Safe Space to Practice the Performance

Practice Frontstage Obedience

Coupled with caution was the obedience required in a total institution. Numerous respondents accented family teachings about obedience for everyday survival. Goffman (1961) states, "During rehearsals for plays, pageants, and the like—at which time the backstage of the theater and the 'house' itself became a free place" (1961: 242). The backstage was important in the total institution of Jim Crow; African Americans learned the rules of etiquette and the required performance to survive frontstage interactions. A retired domestic worker answered several questions with ease before we presented her with, "Do you remember your first encounter with a White person?" At that moment, she became tense, as sweat formed on her forehead. She could not recall her first

encounter in the 1930s, but remembered the way in which she had framed her responses to Whites:

> During the time that I was coming up we were always taught to always especially to a White person they would tell us always be obedient to them. "Yes sir, no sir, yes madam and no madam." . . . That is the way I tried to bring my children up too. Always be obedient. Be obedient to them. Never be sassy. I tried to tell them, "I have been obedient and I have listened to a lot of instruction that I got from my fore parents. I don't know how I would have brought you all up if I had not been obedient." My dad and my step mom would always have us together and he would talk to us about different things and how to be obedient. . . White people during that time they may find you dead somewhere.

This perceptive woman accents the importance of Blacks' continuing the tradition of being obedient to Whites, indeed as her nearby grandsons were listening attentively when she said, while hugging them, Even today, she seeks to warn her grandsons (both under the age of ten), a warning indicated by numerous respondents. This continuing concern about the dangers of Whites is one reason why several participants worried openly about their anonymity. In addition, we see the deference required in a total institution, be humble and obedient. In addition, we see the intergenerational transmission of trauma from segregation stress syndrome.

This respondent continues her interview by sharing that her family had to move shortly after her White employer attempted to rape her. At times, the only option was movement to protect families from the tragedy of rape. Merely mentioning White people triggered a significant physical and psychological response typical of segregation stress syndrome symptoms. White violence backed up the forced etiquette of obedience. Another elderly respondent assesses the contexts that led her mother and grandmother to accent obedience for their everyday lives:

> I remember when I was little, the White kids for some reason used to come down the track going in [our] part of town. And we would fight them. We threw rocks at them, and they threw rocks back at us. We were small and it was never anything. . . . but my grandmama would always have a fit if she saw you doing something, you know. She'd tell you, "Oh, don't do that." She was just deathly afraid of [Whites]. . . . And so was, so was my mother. She was afraid of Whites. And I know why now. She was, she was an obedient [person] . . . I wouldn't say an Uncle Tom . . . because she had a lot of respect from Whites in this city.

Used in numerous interviews, the words "obedient" and "obedience" suggest pressured conformity and non-resistance. Under this racially totalitarian system, one usually had to do what Whites told you to do, and not to question it directly. As in earlier respondents' narratives, Black children might initially fight back against violent White children, but were soon warned not to respond that way by parents or grandparents. Such responses, however, did not necessarily mean "Uncle Tom-ism," but rather a necessary survival strategy. Another respondent mentions the ways in which she learned to not talk back:

> I would think that they would always warn us to not here's the word they used to use "sassing." That's talking back; you didn't talk back to them [Whites]. Not as children you didn't. I can remember that. Just as children we were never allowed to go into the stores. If we went to a store, down in that country store where we lived, we went in with our grandparents or with our parents. Like children now run through the stores (shakes her head no), we are a product of our environment. When I first moved into [names town] and there were stores down the street from us, my kids, I would let my kids go to the store without me and I always taught my children, because I was taught never come out of the store with anything in your hand, always insure that you get a receipt and a bag. And that's me today because that's just what my parents told me. Today I tell my grandkids, don't go in the store and buy you a package of gum and let the sell's clerk give it to you in your hand. If they can't give you a bag, ask for your money back. My dad told me the same thing, I didn't know why. That's probably why. That's why. We could not go to the store unless our parents were with us. And so my children, and my grandkids are forever hearing "don't you come out of that store without that product in a bag and having a receipt for it."

The respondent didn't know why she was taught the things when she was taught them. However, we see the intergenerational transmission of trauma. The consensus is that you can't trust White folks not to accuse you of stealing something. You need to be sure that if they try to accuse you of stealing that you have proof that you didn't. You need to be careful and protect yourself. If they accuse you of stealing they can take you to jail and do whatever it is that they want to do to you. The respondent continues:

> You know children just aren't being taught what they use to. I saw something the other day that just broke my heart. I know that children feel, children are children. But we were right here on [names road] and I was coming home from work and they had this little fella, I think probably he was like 13-14 years old, handcuffed getting a child in front of a store right up there. And that just broke my heart to see them do that to a child. He probably had done something and see I don't think my parents would have been happy with them doing that. So were just—we were—they just gave us what we needed and didn't permit us to go to the store.

The respondent gives a contemporary example of why the lessons of living in the total institution of Jim Crow still apply. It broke her heart to see a young child in handcuffs and it is clear to her that, "children aren't being taught to do what she learned" and thus the consequences are that children are getting in trouble.

Backstage: Practice Humility

A 68-year-old respondent remembers what it took for Blacks to keep their jobs in the total institution of Jim Crow:

> You kept your mouth shut whenever you interacted with White people because you had to. . . .Blacks were brought to that level of humiliation . . .Their job depended on it. It was a process or you could be fired in a minute off the job if you know, for being uppity and those kinds of things. There was nothing you could do about it. So, you got a family to fee, you got a life to live, so it was a bitter pill to swallow but you have to do it.

This respondent is painfully aware of what it takes to survive in the total institution of Jim Crow. African Americans had to be humble, be silent, and 'swallow the bitter pill." Another respondent, who speaks in his interview about "how the White man rules the world," is excited to finally be free of the obligation to obey:

> Now it is wonderful to be able to speak my opinion and say what I have to say. You see everything was bottled up for so many years that I could not say what I wanted to say. "Yes sir, no sir, yes sir, no sir, Mr. White folks." You see I don't have to do that no more. . . . Back then I didn't have no voice. Back then you had to be humble. . .very humble. Because you didn't want them to come along and try to burn the house down and your family on account of you. . . . A whole lot of them. You couldn't prove it. You just couldn't prove it. If you try to live big, they would destroy you. . . . You better not live too high. [Why didn't the community come together?] Scared! Scared. You want to know the truth. Scared. They could get hurt. Definitely, get hurt.

In verbal and nonverbal ways, this man expresses how an overwhelming level of fearfulness permeated his community. According to Goffman (1961), in a total institution, "deference is placed on a formal footing; with specific negative sanctions accorded for infractions . . . the outward show of inward feelings [is restricted]. It does not matter what you feel as long as you don't show it" (1961: 115-116). A respondent in the Southeast recalls watching his mother's humility and silence in the total institution of Jim Crow:

> If someone pushed you off the sidewalk, and that was a White person that did that. . .what were you going to do? Who were you going to fuss at about someone jumping in front of you in the line in the grocery store? We didn't have a recourse then, other than to speak up for yourself, and if you spoke up for yourself, then you didn't know what kind of retribution that you might face. You didn't know where or not rocks were going to get thrown in your window, or you might come out and your tires might be slashed, or whether or not there was going to be a cross burned in your yard.

Numerous participants expressed fear of their houses being burned or other violence being inflicted on families if they were not submissive. Again, we see the forced humility and imposed silence. In addition, African Americans couldn't show that they were prosperous in the total institution of Jim Crow. African Americans learned how to cope with oppression by remaining silent however; others learned how to survive with a performance called the backstage 'shuffle.'

Backstage: Shuffle for Survival

The diversity of countering techniques for official racism utilized by African Americans speaks to their brilliance and ability to resist in a seemingly powerless situation. "Energetically Blacks' minds had to work to control their faces and bodies even as they inwardly scorned the performance . . . .it is extremely difficult to recapture the full psychological complexity of [these] performances" (Ritterhouse 2006:48). The required rituals of deference were often delivered with a certain style and sarcasm that was usually lost on uncomprehending Whites. In the historical literature, "shuffling" is seen as something that African Americans developed as part of their deep unconsciousness because of Jim Crow. Yet, this seems to exaggerate greatly the everyday reality. A teacher in his sixties reflects in more detail on the savvy "shuffle" strategies adopted *consciously* by Black people to survive in the total institution of Jim Crow:

> The rule of thumb was you never tell White folks what you thinking. Because they are going to use it against you, no questions about it. There was this whole coping skills that Black men had. They call it, "Shuffling, shuffling around, scratching their heads, White folks got, lord have mercy, White folks, I don't know." I saw them doing it, "I don't know,

> yes sir, I don't know, I don't know sir." You know, but the White would come to you because they thought you had something to tell them. So the first thing you do was to deny it. . .You had to take on the role of a buffoon to get this guy off of you because he could make life difficult for you. So, that's what you did and it worked. Once the White person left you laughed. You know, it happened all the time. "Do you boys know so and so, and so and so?" "No sir, never heard of him."

This passage demonstrates several key aspects of U.S. apartheid. Techniques of defensive deception were intentionally and reflectively honed to reduce White attacks. As youngsters, African Americans learned that Whites could not be trusted, and that they needed to hide their true feelings. Highly deceptive performances show how African Americans intelligently and rationally resisted oppression. This respondent and fellow worker had to perform the way Whites expected to protect themselves. This man highlights several countering strategies, which he labels "yes sir" shuffling round, "don't know" scratching heads, and playing the buffoon—everyday behavior that Whites usually mistook for ingrained servility and lack of intelligence.

Backstage: We Were a Community

A respondent in the Southeast recalls how African Americans stuck together to cope with Whites in the total institution of Jim Crow:

> So [my grandfather] he was always kind of in that slightly protected class, so he never really talked about the situation but when we started the [Civil Rights] movement, this is the only thing he said to me. He said, "I think I know what you're doing, I think I understand what you're doing." He said, "Now I'm not saying what you're doing is wrong, he said but what you need to be looking at is jobs". That was the only thing that he said to me. You need to be looking at jobs for people. He said this thing where you're kind of talking about sitting down with these people eating and carrying on; you need to be fighting for these people to have some jobs. . .There wasn't no social security, there wasn't nothing. . .Black folks raising White folks children is what it boiled down to. . . . [So they never shared with you how they were able to get by, how they coped with

> their situation?] Never talked about it. [Well what are your feelings about it? How do you think people coped during that time from what you saw?] I'm back to this community now. A communal type of thing. That is when everybody looked out for everybody. . . .I mean everybody knew everybody, everybody knew all the children. The morals and the conduct and behavior were standard. There was no deviation from it. . .I mean the value system, the core value system was just there. . . .Discipline was a community thing, it wasn't just a family, inside your house thing, that was a community thing. . . .Mr. and Mrs. were also for Black folks. And you respected adults. . . .Church was important back in those days. . . .When you walked outside that church, walking back and forth to school, we had no busses back then, walking back and forth to school, people sitting on their front porch, and the amazing thing about that, is people talk about two parents working now and everything, back in those days, nine times out of ten, you had one parent working. And that was the man. . . . .So, everybody just shared everything. Everybody shared everything. Those who were a little bit more fortunate than the others all got shares. That was just it. That was how they made it. . .But they were used to working and working hard for whatever they had. So they worked for it. And I can tell you, I wonder some time myself, how in the hell they made it. [How did they do it?] You know, people who's great grandparents were slaves end up having these huge houses and being able to do well, send their children to school and then even with all they were going through, Well yea, the other side of that too is the skills and craftsmanship that existed. . . . The only time you really got outside was between sunrise and sunset and that's because you were working for the White folks. [You were doing the] ironing for them, cooking for them, taking care of their children and stuff. And there are a lot of people that did it in their homes.

The respondent recalls that African Americans worked as a community. They looked out for each other in the total institution of Jim Crow. In spite of the notion that African Americans are "lazy" this respondent clearly states, as others have, that African Americans worked hard in Jim Crow's total institution. In addition, African Americans had values that the subscribed to in and it was important to them to follow those values.

Backstage Coping: Black Workers Gave Blacks More Meat

A respondent in the Southwest shares how Blacks looked out for each other in the total institution of Jim Crow:

> You go through the backdoor and eat and all that shit you know what I mean. Me and another guy met up there in [names city], and we were coming in, and I told him, I say well ain't no need for both of us driving the truck, I said I load my truck on top of yours and we just go in together. He said okay. We get to [names town] I say 20 miles out of [names city], something like that. He said next stop is [names town] lets get something to eat, I said okay. So we parked over there on the side, we parked go to the screen door, well he opened the door and I walked in, oh big fat old White lady sitting in there, she say, by the time we both got in there, I was in the front, she say, "You going to have to go around to the back for you to come in." I said, "It don't make me no difference where I eat just as long as I get me something to eat." So the cook was in the window while she put the plates out, (inaudible) wasn't nobody in the kitchen, he looking through the window with his arms folded like that (demonstrates). It don't make me no difference, anywhere you can eat, I say go. So I went back there, I told the lady I wanted some steak and French fries. That woman opened up that refrigerator and she got a steak out of there, it went down here arm like this (demonstrates how long the steak was).I thought she was going to put it on the damn thing and chop it and just take half of it and cook it, she cooked that whole thing. I know why, the reason she done it. She done it because of that White lady up front said to me when I come in. I couldn't eat all that steak. But now, when I get through eating, I can go through there and pay for it and go out the front door, mmm hmm, but I can't come in the front door, I got to go out here and go in the side door. I never had that kind of trouble in Louisiana the whole time I go through Louisiana, Mississippi, I never had that trouble. One time I stopped at [names town], we had to refuel, I told that guy, I say, "Say, while I'm fueling up, go in there and get me a box of matches." He said, "You can go get it, they ain't going to do nothing." I said, "It ain't the idea that they going to do me something, do something to me. I filling up the fuel, and the tank, you standing up here, you can go in there and get me the matches." My wife was always after me about that. . . .They don't care about you, all they want is your money."

The respondent understands the importance of money in the total institution of Jim Crow. He does what he can to voice his discontent with the way things are for Black

people. He takes every chance he gets to voice his discontent, even at the request of his wife to remain silent.

Backstage: Conflicting Memories – Coping with Denial

A respondent in the Southwest uses denial to deal with her memories of Jim Crow. She recalls what living in the total institution of Jim Crow was like:

> We rode buses with them [Whites] and they never told us to go to the back of the bus or when you buy a hamburger go to the back door or to the back window and get your hamburger. No. I did not experience that cause they never I never they never I never lived with that. I never was told that. I will say it like that. I never was told that. I guess coming up my dad my dad and my mom probably. But not none of us kids. We never we never experienced that fight. So I couldn't tell you nothing about White people cause we never was we drank out the same yeah we drank out the same fountain never experienced that other stuff. No we didn't.

The respondent shares how she didn't experience any of the traumas that others experienced in the total institution. A few minutes later when asked, do you remember when the law changed and the total institution was outlawed?

The respondent replied "Yes, I remember when Martin Luther King." [Did you notice any changes in the community after that?]

> Yes they got to be some nice good White people. They had to be nice cause they combine the schools. White peoples and working together in the same offices all that kinda stuff. You could ride you could ride anywhere on the bus you wanted to ride. My dad use to tell us that [pauses] when he had to go to the back before then before this happened I think that all the Black had to go to the back of the bus and White people had to sit to the front. But when they changed this over then you could sit anywhere you want on the bus you could sit side one of them if they didn't want to sit there they could move…I remember when it happened until he did it was rough till then and when he did it there was a lot of stuff going on.

The respondent mentions that she didn't have any bad experiences. However, the woman is old enough to have experienced the total institution of Jim Crow. Yet, she only recalls what her father said he had to go through. She was not the only one that used denial to cope with the traumas of the total institution of Jim Crow. Another respondent who lives in the Southwest uses denial when mentioning the Ku Klux Klan. The respondent was asked, "Some people said there was the Ku Klux Klan. Did you ever hear anything about that?] The respondent's tone changed immediately and she replied:

> No. No not here. [So there was no Klan here?] The respondent's [voice gets louder and agitated] No ain't no Klan here. No. I ain't heard about it. If there had been some Klan I am sure we would have heard it. [What about when you were growing up?] The respondent [Responds before I can finish my sentence even louder] NO! I ain't heard nothing about no Ku Klux Klan. I heard about the Ku Klux Klan I think I was sitting here one time looking at TV and seen them folks. On a talk show! As far as our growing up we didn't know nothing about those folks. [her voice is higher and more assertive at this point]. Not when I was growing up! The Ku Klux Klan [emphasized and chuckles]. I have heard talk of them but we ain't never had to deal with them [she is talking faster now]. Oh No. No. No. All I know is they put a rag on their faces I don't know nothing about them. We didn't have to deal with them. [A rag on their face?] Whatever that thing is they got! They put on their face and they peeping out of it! [Voice more excited and agitated]. No we ain't never had to deal with them. But I have heard a lot of talk about some people talk about them but we ain't never had to deal with them. [you heard people talk about them?] I use to see them on that television on the talk show. I don't know. We never had to deal with them. It's good in [names state]. It is not. We didn't have to deal with no Ku Klux. I ain't about or had to deal with no Ku Klux Klan whatever you call those folks being in [names state]. Maybe it is too rough for some. [So it was good for Black folks here?] Yeah. Yeah they [Whites] good. They [Whites] was good. No hate never heard of that as far as I know and I been around here a long time. I never heard of it. People treat people fair and good?] They [Whites] good. They [Whites] treat you nice. Yep. They meet Black people and you don't even know you and they meet you and they friendly with you. They just friendly with you. You don't know their name and they don't know

> your name probably never seen you before but they are friendly [voice is a lot softer, not excited, talking slower now] friendly people. Yep. Yep.

This respondent was exhibiting some signs of being fearful of saying anything negative about Whites. The respondent's voice rose when she denied that there were any problems. In addition, her tone changes when I mentioned the Ku Klux Klan.

Backstage Resistance

I Wasn't Scared of Them

The strategies that African Americans employed to resist daily oppression, in a total institution, had to be creative. African Americans resisted Jim Crow in spite of retaliatory violence, thereby constantly demonstrating and amplifying the sense and reality of personal agency. There were African Americans that were willing to give Whites what they wanted, they act like a Tom, they shuffled and scratched their head, and they acted humble and allowed Whites to do as they pleased. However, there were African Americans that decided that they wouldn't do the performance and they fought back against the system. A respondent in the Southwest recalls not being afraid to resist Whites in the total institution of Jim Crow:

> It's been so long that I just don't remember, okay. Because if someone said something to me that I didn't like I probably would have been in jail now, cuz I didn't take no mess off of nobody. . . One time. I was grown then. we was at this school yard and this police wanted to put me in jail and he kept telling me to come on, come on and I asked him, "where do you want to come to a room." And he wanted to hit me, but he didn't hit me, there were too many Blacks around. And he said "naw, I ain't that type of police man." I said "well you talking like it." And that's the closest time I ever got to being, you know, somebody wanting to hit me, cuz when I was coming up I was a, I wasn't bad, but I had, if someone said something to me I didn't like I said it back. And my dad told me, you going to get your butt whooped one of these days. But I wasn't scared. I don't think none of my people was scared. . . . I never did have nobody,

> you know, cuz I always talked back to them [Whites] when I felt like it. And my mama told me one day, we going to be lookin' for you one day and we ain't gonna find you because they done killed you. . . .Well it still didn't scare me. . . . Well they talked to me and I talked back at them. I wasn't scared of them, that's what made them [Whites] so angry sometime, but they [Whites] say, "you can talk to her as much as you want, that nigga ain't scared." I told one of them one day, it takes a nigga to find a nigga." (laughing) I didn't have good sense, I mean I had sense, but you know what I'm talking about, cuz they got through talking and that be it. And then when I grew up to be a teenager, one of them cops that use to be mad and use to talk back to me, I found out he liked me. I told him I said, "I don't fool no cops." Back when I was coming up I was mean. I didn't take nothing off of nobody.

This respondent resisted the Whites in the total institution of Jim Crow. Her parents told her that, "we gonna to be lookin for you one day and we ain't gonna find you because they done killed you." Again, we see that Blacks knew that people just disappeared and their family members never found them. The respondent later found out that the cop did like her and he was trying to take her somewhere and possibly force her to have sex with him. We've seen this pattern of police coercing young girls earlier in the dissertation. She says, "I found out later when I was a teenager that he liked me." This implies that when the cop was trying to get her to come with him she wasn't a teenager yet.

Backstage: Practice Acting Like a Tom

A respondent in the Southwest recalls that you had to act like a "Tom" in order to survive:

> But anyways he was the only man, with a, I didn't, I'd been to college, this man had a college education, and the only time he got his promotion when he retired and he had lawyers on the case that make them [White employers] pay for the time he should have been promoted. And he [the lawyer] asked me to act as somebody to recommend him and he just asked me "why isn't this man getting his due justice" you know? And I said because "he said he's not giving them [White employers] what they want," and I said "ask me what they want" [laughs] and I said "well they

> want him; they want you to joke and act as colored folk, Uncle Tom. . .And now he is not doing it, so they [lawyers] ask me "well what do you fall in?" I fall in the same category, and that is one of the reasons I never got promoted.

There were some African Americans that resisted acting the way Whites expected them to act, 'Uncle Tomish." Not acting the way that Whites wanted you to act on the job would cost you promotions and in some instances your job.

Organized Resistance in the Backstage

Even though active resistance usually sparked further violent attacks, some Black men, women, and children did periodically engage in confrontational resistance. A prominent religious leader, now in his eighties, speaks to the importance of constant and confrontational resistance, especially after World War II:

> You had to do that! You had to do that! In order to change the system you had to do that! You had to test it. You had to make them show their real color. . . . If you didn't keep protesting the system, [change] never would have happened and some of us just decided that, we were going to test the system. It was dangerous to do it but we did it. Yeah. We did it. . . . Schools were segregated. We wrote the school board and told them to consider integrating the schools. If they didn't integrate the schools we were gonna file a suit. As time went on, we decided to file a suit. I went to several parents and told them we had to file a suit. I told them we had to have a particular child. All of them said NO! My younger daughter was at [names school] at that time. I said to her," We got to use a name on the lawsuit to file the suit. Don't tell your mother about it but would you agree to do this?" She said, "Yes."

In the 1950s and 1960s, Black Americans like this respondent and his child actively resisted Jim Crow and pressed the larger community to resist collectively. Like predecessors, they showed they were more than victims, demonstrating courage and creative agency in resisting in spite of imminent violence. In these White-dominated

communities, African Americans confronted insurmountable odds in trying to avoid racial violence in daily rounds, and when engaging in acts of aggressive resistance.

Backstage: Turn the Other Cheek

A respondent in the Southwest recalls being told to turn the other cheek. She was asked, [Did they ever share any stories about what they went through or how it made them feel or did your parents give you any advice?] She states:

> No they never talked to us about that. They just told us if people do you wrong you treat them nice. We were raised like that. . . we had a couple of brothers that didn't obey that rule. [Yeah what did they do?] [She begins to chuckle] Fight back [lowers voice]. Yeah. Yeah. [Can you remember a particular incident?] Yeah! One of my brothers [chuckles pauses] Yeah one of my brothers shot at a guy. Yeah. My daddy always said don't do that but you know like I said a couple of them they didn't. They couldn't take that! They didn't believe that! [raises voice]. I think they said they was somebody. . . . We wasn't at home that day that [it] happened. He didn't hurt him he just kinda I think scared him. But he went in there and got my dad's gun. We never we never experienced nothing like that before [low mumbles]. Just so probably a couple of them didn't understand that you don't let people do you any kinda way. So in fact they still like that now. They still like that. They don't take no pushing. . . .But they are in their 60's now and they done grown all out of it. They are teaching their children what dad taught us. They do you wrong and you can't settle it, go to the law. Go to the law don't you try to settle it.

The respondent states she was taught to, "no matter what they do treat them nice." However, her brothers couldn't take the way they were treated and they fought back. In the total institution of Jim Crow some individual family members didn't take the advice of their elders and they fought against the system. We see that later in their lives the brothers taught their children to contact the law and not take matters into their own hands.

Backstage: Resisting the Language of "Yes Madam, No Madam"

A respondent in the Southwest recalls being taught in the backstage the proper response to Whites in the frontstage:

> Oh, there are a lot of them, you know, well you would hear your parents saying, "yes, sir" and "no, sir" to somebody under them, and I said "why do you do that?" You know, I mean, hey you older than them why you got to say "yes sir" and "no sir" to them. I never did like that and I never did like the thought of, um like women when working in cuz' that's what my mama did, you know cookin' cleanin', it got to be "yes ma'am" and "no ma'am" and all that, I didn't like that, especially when you the same age as me okay, but now when my mom's phone rang and I said "hello, [Betty Smith's residence, Holly Taylor speaking" the phone like went dead and they would tell my mama, "oh your daughter must be there." Yes I was and I demanded respect. If I'm a call you Ms. so and so and Mrs. so and so, then you gon' call me Mrs. Taylor, that's the way it was.

This respondent refused to relinquish respect in the total institution of Jim Crow. We've seen throughout how not giving Blacks their due respect was one of the mechanism utilized in the hierarchy. Indeed, elders try to teach their children the rules and regulations of the total institution. However, there were family members that decided that they were going to resist the rules and fight back.

A respondent in the Southwest shares how she resisted referring to Whites with "yes madam, no madam" today:

> So, you know, when you hear your own mama and daddy call somebody "yes ma'am" and "no ma'am." That's like their children. I couldn't deal with that, uh un. And I had never left the state of (names state) at that time (laughs). So since I've been here almost a whole century, I know I don't do that now. I don't be "yes ma'aming" "no ma'aming," to nobody. Out of respect, you know, older people, you say "yes ma'am" and "no ma'am" but it's out of respect, not because I've got to, I don't have to do that. And at the same time, I demand respect, too. Now you don't call me "gal" or by my first name, you don't know me that well.

This respondent explains how she pushed back and demanded respect. Again, there were African Americans that resisted the formal language of the total institution of Jim Crow and tried to get their parents to understand why they refused to submit.

Backstage: Advice from Children

A respondent in the Southwest recalls the advice he was given in the total institution of Jim Crow and difficult it was for him to watch his father interacted with Whites:

> They didn't give me any advice. They just told me to watch yourself. I remember though, back in 1955, I went home. And my dad say come on lets go look out there, he still had this acre and a half that he had brought from an old man. And it ended up being a real pricey piece of property because it was the only piece of property there that had water on it. So we pull up in a service station…and this White boy that ran the service station and he came out, "Can I help you?" My daddy say, "yessa." You know? I say, "Dad, you are what 60 years old, you don't have to say "sir" and "yessa" and stuff like that…just say "yes" or "no." (In disbelief) You know he refused? Because it was engrained in him, back then when you were dealing with White folks. He came in to Texas from Mississippi. And it was just *in* him, you couldn't get it out. And I tell him you don't have to say "yes sir" or "no sir", you can just simply say "yes" or "no" ain't nothing going to happen to you. And then he say, "Boy you just don't know about this world." And I said, "Yeah you right daddy, maybe I don't know…but I do know the White man got the upper had now. But he's going to slowly have to give it up." It's coming to that point. Where we gonna really be even and not right here (makes one hand lower then the other). We gonna be even with him. So what can I say? Maybe I won't live to see it, cause with me being 73, I don't think I will because it's taking too long

This respondent clearly was given advice from his father and it was difficult for him to watch as his father still abided by the rules and regulations of the total institution of Jim Crow. Indeed, in the backstage there were disputes with elders about how Black children who were now grown should deal with Whites. In addition, young African Americans

didn't understand that the total institution socialization of their parents was internalized by them and resocialization would be nearly impossible. Especially since older African Americans didn't think that Whites had changed.

Fighting Back – Resistance – Bathrooms and Treated Like Dogs

A respondent in the Southwest recall resisting the rules of the total institution:

> I remember I got a job, it was a luggage company and they selling suitcases and stuff like that and I got a summer job working in there. So she say, "Boy…if you have to go to the bathroom, you can't go that bathroom back there, what we use, you have to get out and go to the cafeteria down the street." Stuff like that. So I say, well I'm a work here one week and get me a paycheck and I'll fix her. So you know, you fight against this stuff in your own particular way. When I got ready to go, I uh (starts laughing), I got my check that Friday evening, and I was working till about 2 o'clock, and I got my check about my time and I knew I was gone to get off before soon. And so, got ready to go and I left, and I looked in there and I saw she was sitting up there by the cash register, wasn't nobody there but me and her, so what I did, I went back there, and I flush the bathroom, she thought I had went in it and used the bathroom. (starts laughing) And she jumped up! And she come running back that way! And she ran passed me, I was hiding in the little hallway door, and she missed me! (Imitates woman) "Didn't I tell you!" And I was out the door, gone. (Laughing) So I don't know what happened after that but, she was an old lady, they just hated Black folks and I couldn't understand why they hated us so much. We don't do nothing to them and they act like, what can I say, they act like we was dogs! That's just the way they treated us.

In the total institution of Jim Crow, African Americans found little ways to resist. Throughout we see this bewilderment from Blacks wondering, "I couldn't understand why they hated us so much." In the minds of Blacks it just didn't make any sense. It took brain power, time, and energy to think about it and try to make sense of it.

Backstage: I Was Like Their Family - Good White Folks

A respondent in the Southwest recalls how she was like a family member in the homes of Whites. When asked, do you remember your first experience with Whites? She states:

> With White people? No, we was mostly Black. When I was growing up it was mostly Black and Spanish very few Whites. Even on the farm Black and Spanish very few Whites. We was one big family. One big family….[So you did not encounter Whites much?] No. Not until I got grown and it spreaded out. Then I started mixing with them. They was all nice. I worked for one family in fact he live near the mall [gives name] I worked for them folks for eighteen years. I raised all their kids. When I went there the oldest one was three years old and I raised worked for them for eighteen years and I raised all those. They had three girls [pauses to think about it] three girls and one boy I raised all those kids lived with them until they got married went to all of them weddings and then I started to babysit their kids. So like I said yeah I even raised the grandkids. I just am still in the family. Birthdays they bring me come the mother may come out and bring me some money or she will mail it to me. I will get a card right now. Yep. Nice. Nice. They is some nice peoples out there. I really associated with them. No problems. I worked for them from 8 to 5. I worked from 8 to 5 for eighteen years. I raised all the kids. Lived to see them get married. Went to all of thems weddings.

The respondent raised all of their children and considers them family. She recalls how she left the town after the children were grown and married. She moved away from the small town and remembers crying when her husband decided that he wanted to move back.

> He wanted to come back to (names town) and I cried for two weeks. I cried because I never wanted to come back here [voice goes low and sad sounding]. He had a good job. We come back here and I [been] back here ever since. He didn't have a job. [sounds sad]. [So why didn't you want to come back to [names town]?] I just didn't! [Sounds annoyed that I asked] No. I didn't want to come.

In the total institution of Jim Crow African Americans found ways to deal with their situation, she was like their family. However, when she was given the opportunity to move back to the town she was very upset. We see the contradictions.

Backstage: Earn the Respect of Whites

A respondent in the Southwest recalls how Whites respected her grandfather and it made a difference in the way they were treated:

> My grandfather, as I said, he knew how to, he had the, lets say, favor of the Whites that were in the area where we lived. I mean my grandfather could get anything he wanted from anybody. Any Negro man, who acquired 500 acres and had cattle and horses, and my grandmother even ran a dairy farm for years. That's saying a whole lot about a man that's uneducated. I doubt if he got through the 8th grade. I doubt it very seriously. Yeah the dairy farm, he ran the dairy farm. And those were the good years, those were the good years because my dad helped on the dairy farm. [What are your coping strategies?] At my age, I stay at home and I don't bother with stuff anymore. I don't uh, how do I cope? I just need to tell people when they are wrong. I just believe in stopping people. I just believe in—like for instance, one of my main point is I don't like to be called girl, because when we were growing up that's all Black people were girls and boys and aunties and uncles. And you cannot call me a girl. And you cannot call me gal. I will stop me. You cannot do that to me. I will not tolerate it. I am nobody's girl, I had a real bad experience, you know as we talk I can come back to experiences. One morning my mother and I and my neighbor had gone to (names town), and it was early Christmas and we was shopping and we went into (names store) in (town) and as we walked into the store this lady wanted to know 'what could she do for us girls?' "What can I do for you girls this morning?" and I was like, something happened to me my mamma said I was wrong. She said I whirled on that lady and before I knew anything we had to go. Where do you see blank, blank girls. This one is old enough to be your mamma or your grandmamma. This is my mamma. Do I look like a girl to you? Where do you see a girl? We are customers. And I asked for the manager of the store. I could not handle it. I didn't buy nothing in that store that day and after that I hardly went back to that store. I just, I could not deal with it. I can't cope with it.

The respondent clearly resists the customs of the total institution of Jim Crow. She couldn't cope with having a White person refer to her mother as a 'girl." As she states, "something happened to me." The memories of watching as her parents and elders were called 'boy,' 'girl,' and worse flooded her mind and she couldn't stop herself. Her mother said, "She was wrong." Indeed, young African Americans resisted the system and it caused problems because their grandparents and parents still followed the unwritten rules of deference. The respondent continues when she was asked if the thought her coping strategies were effective:

> For me it is, and I am only interested in me. For me its fine, and I think that if I do that I can pass it on to my children. My children will not let you walk on them, not a one that will let you walk on them. not a one. Because that's what they know from me. You I believe that we live, and have to be sure that what we do in life is right, as far as we know. Treat people with respect and demand that you are respected. That's always been my theory. . . .I could not cope with it. I really could not cope. . . . you don't treat her like she is an animal. This is a human being. And I may be wrong, I don't know, and I may have been too emotional over my mom, but that was just something I couldn't live with. So not when I am faced with situations, if, sometimes I will call them to come down because sometimes I can't deal with it. I don't have the temperament. I do not have the temperament to allow people to do me just any kind of way. I can't do that. Be it right, wrong, or otherwise. I can't do it. [Where did you learn those coping strategies from?] I think that my daddy was like that, I remember I told you that my daddy would not be called anything and (shares name) was his middle name, he never used his first name, but you could not call him boy. You could not call him uncles. You could not any of those; you had to call him by his name. And it didn't matter to them who it was he would tell you. And I guess that's were I got it from. [Do people ever call you anything worse than that?] Not not to my face. They may have, I'm sure they did, but I haven't heard it. [Do you think that things are better now for Black people than they were 30 years ago?] No we are going backwards. No it should be, but we are not where we could be. Prejudice is there, it will always be there. I think that as an individual you have a responsibility to make sure that people treat you with dignity and respect. I think that is your place now. Its not like it use

> to be when you could not open your mouth. Now you can. Use the system, if you can.

The respondent learned to demand respect from her father. The emotions that come with dealing with a system that is constantly challenging your identity and how you view yourself. The respondent stated, "If they don't treat me right, I can take my money somewhere else." She clearly understands the importance of economics and how it can be used to get Whites to treat you with respect. She realizes that you can open your mouth now and we see how she felt like she might have been wrong. It was important for her to resist and yet the resistance still created turmoil in her mind and with her mother.

Backstage: I Learned to Fight Back

A respondent in the Southwest recalls how he used fighting as a way to cope during Jim Crow. When asked how he coped with the total institution of Jim Crow:

> Fighting. Any White boy that came from *all* the Black folks in that area that we stayed in, like (names town). They call you "Nigger" or out of your name, they got a fight coming. And that way, you know, on Saturday morning, they had these big shot football players playing at (names place), and all those, they come out on the park and we'd go over there and we, you know scrimmage with them and play with them. We always end up fighting because somebody would say the "N" word, and there's a fight, and there's a race rally. Police come and took all the Blacks and put them in jail and let the Whites go. So, my answer to that is that I did fight it, you know, whenever it happened. They found out, that in that community at that time when you disrespect a Black guy, and call him out his name, you in a fight and that was just the way it is. [What did you find was the least effective?] By ignoring what you're going through. You didn't get anything solve going like that. [Where did you learn the coping strategies that you use to confront racism/discrimination?] That come from me. My dad told us he didn't ever want to see us fighting and that he wasn't coming to get us out of jail. But that was *my* strategy, that came from me. He wasn't the kind

> that would start something, but me I was the type that would start something. Me and my brothers.

Again, the respondent shows that in the backstage of Jim Crow parents and their children were not always in agreement on how to cope, resist, and live within the total institution. The respondent felt, the least effective coping strategy was, "ignoring what you're going through." Earlier, in the dissertation, we saw how several respondents stated, "it was all held inside of us." The psychological and physical consequences of the total institution of Jim Crow are undeniable. Indeed, the backstage wasn't always a place where African American families found peace and a consensus on how to deal in the frontstage. In some instances, African Americans needed to seek help for segregation stress syndrome outside of their families and communities. Unfortunately, there weren't many avenues where African Americans could seek assistance with segregation stress syndrome. If they could find assistance, African Americans have mentioned the stigma associated with seeking help for trauma in society and especially in the African American communities.

Coping with Segregation Stress Syndrome

Backstage: Barriers to Seeking Professional Help for Segregation Stress Syndrome

Extensive research has been conducted on dealing with mental health issues attributed to stress and race. In 2007, Franklin-Jackson and Carter focused on race-based stress however; they address issues of identity and the mental health of African Americans. This study examines how racism, stress, identity, and mental health affect African Americans. These researchers with the assistance of 255 African American adults try to understand how racism affected how individuals view themselves. The

results of the study have long-term benefits and can affect the way counseling and research in the area is done. They found astounding results in reference to how counselors can assist in building the self-esteem of African Americans when they are trained in the area of racism and stress. However, there are some barriers that keep African Americans from seeking help.

Socio-Cultural Barriers for Elderly African Americans

There are several barriers that will prevent African Americans from seeking help for their mental health problems. Historically, African Americans have relied on their religious belief. However, in some cases focusing only on religious beliefs could be a hindrance to them seeking mental care assistance. Matthews (2006) showed that seeking out the assistance of African American religious leaders facilitated in closing the disparity gap for elderly African Americans. The importance of hearing the voice of the individuals being researched can't be understated.

Religious Barriers: God Will Provide Narratives

African Americans feel they can handle their depressed feeling through social networks; church, family, and friends (McKindley-Alvarez 2003). Shellman, Mokel, and Wright (2007) research participants expressed similar views. One participant states, "I don't allow myself to get depressed. I pray to God that I never get that way and he helps me" (p. 233). Another participant states, "God is a beautiful person. He is good all the time if you let Him. He shows the way. If you don't let Him show you the way, you will become depressed" (p. 233). A respondent in Shellman et al. (2007) states, "People who are depressed cannot handle what is given to hem. It is not God's fault. He would

not give you anything you couldn't handle. They [people who are depressed] are very weak (p. 233). This attitude of the depressed are not strong was expressed in Matthews et al. (2006) research project. This plays into the notion that Black women are superwomen; they should be able to handle anything (Collins 2000). The participants shared similar views, "He [The Lord] says bring them [your problems] to me and leave them here and I'll take care of them. That's a state of mind you have to be in, that's an African perception" (p. 258). A female respondent states, "How can I preach the word of God if I can't rely on God to heal" (Matthews 2006 et al: 260).

African Americans religious and cultural beliefs can help them cope with their problems and hinder them from seeking, in some instances, desperately needed mental care assistance. The attitudes that I can handle things myself with the help of God are also based in the historical discrimination that African Americans have experienced during Jim Crow.

Another belief that is prevalent in the African American community is that you are losing control of yourself. You can get control of yourself if you pray enough. A quote from a woman in Shellman et al. (2007) project states, "I was depressed for about 1 year when I got sick. I couldn't walk; the doctor couldn't find anything wrong with me. I felt like I lost control over my body" (2007: 234). This woman believes that God will give her the strength to get better. Some participants believe that their depression can be controlled if they believe in God enough and pray. Their depression is their fault because they have lost control of their religious beliefs or they just don't believe enough. A participant in Matthews et al. (2006) project talks about losing control, "Be strong and

bear with it. Get over it. Keep going, Pray. You can't break down. You just keep putting up a front. . .Like my parents, they handled it, and I handled it with my kids and they handled it with theirs. Most of the time they didn't seek help. It was just unheard of when I was a kid" (2006: 258).

In the total institution of Jim Crow racism and discrimination kept African American from getting help. All they had was their religious beliefs, their communities, and their families to see them through. The intergenerational transmission of trauma and pain was coupled with the techniques that African Americans utilized to deal with their trauma, God. Be strong, trust in God, and you will be just fine. To seek mental health care is viewed as being weak. We saw throughout the narratives that African Americans stated that, "God kept them strong." These research attitudes and beliefs are embedded in the African American community, even today.

Backstage: Jane Henryism: I Will Survive!

In the Shellman et al. (2007) project several respondents stated that mental health care was not for them. A respondent states, "I don't feel that I am a person to go through depression. I lost my parents, I've lost jobs, and I got divorced. I don't get depressed because I can cope and take what is given to me" (2007: 234). In the Matthews et al. (2006) project we see the same discourse relating to mental health care. The respondent states, "Only Whites have the luxury to sit around and talk. Black people have to keep moving to stay alive" (2006: 259). Another respondent in the Matthews et al. (2006) research states:

> I don't think Black women realize when they have a mental health problem because we're just so accustomed to doing everything that we

> just don't get help. You just keep going until you crash and burn and then you say, 'oh something's wrong.' When we were younger, if we had food and clothing everything was fine. We didn't understand that Mother cried all night, she could have been depressed. We didn't understand that this was not normal (2006: 258).

The women in this research project have been taught that seeking mental health care is a luxury that only Whites can afford. I think this is representative of how African Americans have been socialized in society to view some of the cultural aspects to it. There is literature on John Henryism where men feel as if they can do anything, I argue that a more prevalent problem in the African American community is Jane Henryism; the belief is that you have food and clothing and everything else will be fine. You can be depressed but not know it. These attitudes and behaviors have existed in the African American community for many years and need to be addressed in a systematic way.

Backstage: Cultural Barriers - Stigma

There are stigmas associated with mental illness in all communities. However, coupled with the cultural attitudes and stigma associated with mental illness in the African American community the problem is two-fold. A report by Diala et al. (2000) shows that African Americans reported attitudes is more positive than Whites toward the use of mental health facilities. African Americans are more likely to seek mental health care for serious mental problems and are more likely to tell their friends that they are seeking assistance.

However, once African Americans use mental care facilities they are more likely than Whites to report negative attitudes, less likely to return for further treatment, less likely

than Whites to tell their friends that they visited a mental health facility, and have significantly lower use of the mental health facilities (Diala 2000 et al.)

Matthews et al. (2006) respondent's provided a different view about the stigma associated with seeking mental care assistance. One participant states, "My illness started when I was four years old. My parents didn't want anyone to know so they would keep me hidden when company came over they were embarrassed. . . .I made the mistake of telling my best friend. He said, 'you're crazy? Oh my God, I can't believe it. Get away from me. You're dangerous" (2006: 261). Several respondents in the research projects shared their thoughts about mental illness and seeking care. Stigmas associated with mental illness are not just prevalent in the African American communities they are societal. However, the research shows that African Americans suffer more from depression, historical trauma, and stress. African Americans, especially women, need mental health care more than most and are the least likely to get the help they need. African American respondents maintained, "Whites can get therapy and it's o.k. If we [African Americans] need help we are looked down upon, treated badly (2006: 260). They think being poor and African American has an extra stigma associated with it.

The words of the respondents speak volumes to the misconceptions, cultural stigma, and religious beliefs that hinder African Americans seeking the help they need. In these narratives the respondents share how race and racial attitudes impacts their decisions. Studies have shown that there are some African Americans that do have financial barriers that keep them from getting the help they need for their mental health problems.

However, the research shows that even when African Americans have the financial resources to go to mental care facilities, they do not go.

In this chapter, I describe the ways in which African American prepared themselves for those frontstage performances and how they protected themselves and their families in the backstage. I showed that in the backstage, African Americans, felt free to describe their true feelings about Whites. In the backstage, they coped with their frontstage interactions that included racial violence and trauma. I focused on specific strategies and tactics used to survive. Countering strategies included obedience, silence, and deceptive servility. I showed that coping strategies were not consistent within African American families. There were some families' members that felt that resistance was the best way to cope. African American parents struggled to pass on coping strategies in an effort to protect their children.

In this chapter, I have shown how African Americans have developed a long lasting mistrust for Whites in this country. The cultural mistrust that African Americans have in other social setting is consistent with the mistrust that they have when it comes to seeking mental health care (Whaley 2001; Osuji, 2003; Gonzalez, Alegria, and Prihoda, 2005; Matthews et al. 2006; Shellman et al. 2007). Some of Matthews et al (2006) stated, "They treat you according to race. Even though a person seeks help, you're not too confident in the help that is given" (2006: 261). African Americans need assistance with their mental and physical problems. However, in some instance, the history of the total institution of Jim Crow will prevent them from seeking help.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

. . . . *The totalitarian system of slavery extended itself into the very place that was inviolable and sacred to both African and European societies—the sanctity of the woman's body and motherhood within the institution of marriage. Although all women were slaves under patriarchy, the particular enslavement of Black women was also an attack on all Black people. All sexual intercourse between a White man and a Black woman irrespective of her conscious consent became rape, because the social arrangement assumed the Black woman to be without any human right to control her own body. And the body could not be separated from the color . . .* Barbara Omolade (cited in Lerner 1972:354-355)

In the final chapter of the dissertation, I summarize the main points of the research project, discuss possible limitations of the work, and share future directions in my research on the long term consequences of the total institution of Jim Crow. In this final chapter, I give an overview of the dissertation and discuss how elderly African Americans view their progress. As I discussed in Chapter I, the *official* total institution of Jim Crow ended over 50 years ago and elderly African Americans in the Southeast and Southwest, in some instances, report that things have gotten better. However, there are still instances where African Americans hear, witness, and experience organized and random acts of racial violence such as rape, lynching, churches burning, and crosses burning on the front lawns of African Americans. In addition, African Americans aren't witnessing the equality that they envisioned would occur after the total institution of Jim Crow was dismantled. In contemporary times when racial violence occurs, African Americans who lived in the total institution of Jim Crow are reminded of those experiences; it reignites and legitimizes their fears. This research project probed the

deeper reality that the racially and sexually violent experiences of the total institution of Jim Crow is still profoundly affecting and shaping the lives of older African Americans in collective ways. This research project probed the collective physical and psychological consequences of the total institution of Jim Crow.

What emerged from the interviews is that African Americans long for the sense of community that they had in the total institution of Jim Crow when African Americans worked together and supported each other. They long for the committed African American teachers that filled the Black schools in the total institution of Jim Crow. Some of the respondents recall when the total institution was dismantled many prosperous African Americans moved away from their neighborhoods, Black teachers were fired and were replaced with White teachers, Black sport teams and bands were dismantled, and Black schools were closed. The elderly African American survivors of the total institution of Jim Crow feel that the Black communities were punished for resisting and fighting to dismantle the totalitarian system of Jim Crow. The participants mentioned that their fight for integration was about economic equality, it was not about the destruction of their communities.

In the dissertation, I fulfill a critical need by investigating the historical, social, and psychological tolls of the total institution of Jim Crow. I explored the collective reactions to traumatic events. I took an interdisciplinary approach in my examination of the total institution of Jim Crow. I merged psychology and sociology to examine the experiences of the survivors of Jim Crow. I developed and utilized the concept segregation stress syndrome to analyze the consequences of racism, racial violence,

sexual violence, and trauma. The findings indicated that segregation stress syndrome is the result of violence and trauma. The trauma was transmitted, verbally and nonverbally, by elderly parents and grandparent. They transmission of trauma was an aspect of the socially learned behavioral processes.

The research revealed the long-term impact of total institutions on the mental health of African American survivors. I utilized the concept of a total institution to examine the importance of the connections between the micro and macro in society. The project revealed how the total institution of Jim Crow encompassed all aspects of African Americans lives including their language, work and home environment, and their social lives. In Jim Crow's total institution African Americans were restricted in their movement because of their race.

In the dissertation, I utilized Goffman's frontstage and backstage, an aspect of a total institution, to describe the daily lives of African Americans. The frontstage is where they performed and the backstage is where African Americans coped with their trauma. In addition, I addressed aspects of the total institution which included racial etiquette, racial violence, fear as a means of social control, and the consequences.

In the dissertation, I provided examples of how African Americans reported the events that occurred in the frontstage and how they coped in the backstage. African Americans utilized diverse coping strategies which included going to church, denial, resistance, religion, and alcohol. In addition, there was an array of ways in which African Americans negotiated their movements in the total institution to limit their interactions with Whites. They were strategic in their travels, outside activities, the

outward appearances of their homes, and the things they purchased. The project reveals how African Americans as a collective fought to bring about economic changes.

However, older African Americans reported that they are not experiencing the economic equity they fought for in the 1960's. There are a few African Americans that have done well, but the majority of African Americans in the community are not better off economically than they were 50 years ago. The project analyzed how the majority of older African Americans feel they are witnessing their descendants struggle with some of the same issues that they experienced in the total institution of Jim Crow. In particular, their grandchildren are struggling with inequality in schools, inadequate teachers, lack of economic resources, failing school districts, and an overall disregard for the future of the African American community. Indeed, when the respondents were asked if things were better for the African American community 50 years later, they stated that as a society we still have a long way to go. The project unveiled how elderly African Americans view their country 50 years later.

Fifty Years Later: Are Things Better?

A respondent in the Southwest shares her thoughts when she is asked if she thinks things are better or have changed much in the last 50 years:

> Oh yeah its better, it's much better, much better. But its still here, segregation is still here. I don't think it will ever die. [You don't think it will ever end?] I don't. I don't. I really don't. Of course you know just being, just being, you know, here [in a nursing home], and then you can see what's going on, you don't have to say a word, you can stop and just look, and just watch and you can tell its different, different. They do they job, they do you different. You almost the last one to get something seen about you. But still they take you money for what we all in here for the same thing cuz we can't take care of ourself. But its different, it's different.

The respondent, who is living in a nursing home, states that things are better but you can still see remnants of the total institution of Jim Crow in the nursing home where she is living right now. There are African Americans in facilities where they need assistance to perform their daily activities. In the facilities African Americans are still facing discrimination and there are still recognizable remnants of Jim Crow's total institution. In the Southwest a respondent talks about how things are different 50 years later: She states:

> I say, you don't, you can't do that down there, they'll kill you, we won't know where they put your body. But that's the way it is, that's the way it was. Uh, a lot of people have gotten killed, uh died, in the southern states, probably the rest of them too because, you know, the Blacks left the south and went north, but now what's happening' now? There migrating back to the south cuz' it's a little bit better, you know. For I've never been one to like snow, no way, so it didn't bother me, but eh, uh, I married at, like I said, eighteen and I've been traveling around. This is the longest I've ever lived anywhere, here in [names town], since 1968. And when I moved here it was 105 degree and I just knew that I wouldn't like it, no sir, down here, yeah, but I've done seen some stuff, it's unbelievable, but as, as uh, Sam Cook says "change is gonna' come." Sam Cook been dead now 40 years that change has not really got here yet. Like I said if you got some money you kind of buy your way around, you know what I mean? But in these White folks mind you still a nigger. That's the way they think, that's the way they think. That's why I call them peckerwoods and poor' White trash, (excitingly) crackers! That's what they are.

The respondent shares that things have gotten better. However, it doesn't matter how much money you make, or how much time has passed in the minds of Whites you are still a 'nigger.' A respondent in the Southeast recalls how things have changed in the last 50 years:

> Well, I think that you have a different kind of discrimination, a more subtle kind of discrimination to deal with now. And, the way you deal with that is to not tell yourself, is to be aware of the facts. I mean, when I

> say facts I mean things that are happening, not something you think but you look at what is really happening, you know, job opportunities. Is there equal opportunity at that job or in the job market? Or that, you know, yeah, there's equal opportunity but why is it I always wind up not getting that job, you know. Why is that? You know. So, I think it's more subtle now and because our young people think that, there is equal opportunity and maybe I'm speaking for the young people, maybe they know there isn't equal opportunity out there. Maybe they know something that, you know, and I'm just thinking they think there as equal. But, seemingly to mean that our young people aren't aware of our history, you know. If you're not aware of your history you can get lost out there.

The respondent recalls how things were and acknowledges that there is an appearance of change but the remnants of the total institution of Jim Crow still exist. There are survivors of the total institution of Jim Crow that emphasize the need for young people to understand their history. A respondent in the Southwest recalls the differences 50 years later:

> I done made 83 years, got by; well I can't say I got by, because I ain't never done a damn thing. For colored people, would you say things are better. . .The working conditions is a lot better then it was back then, yeah. And, you don't have to, you don't have to really go that far back, you can go back into the early part of the 50's, it's a lot better working conditions now, then it was in the early 50's. They got fork lifts to do the lifting, back then we use to have to lift the stuff up, they got fork lifts, you just go in there and put that son-of-a-gun where you want it huh, just where you want it. You get a break in the morning, 15 minutes, you get a break in the evening around 3 o'clock, 15 minutes, hell back then you didn't know what a break was, you go out there and punch in at 8 o'clock you work till 4 o'clock, mmm hmm

The respondent mentions that the measurement of things being better is that you get breaks during the work day. In the total institution of Jim Crow, African Americans worked from dawn till dusk. There were several elderly African Americans that didn't want to get into the details of how things were better, worse, or the same since the

dismantling of the total institution of Jim Crow. A respondent in the Southwest recalls the differences from 50 years ago:

> So you see everything here is better. And I appreciate that because, now that they see that a Black person is just as fast, just as beautiful as they are, they find out that they going to have to compete against them instead of dishing them off, they got to compete. So, it's really a change sense then. And it's going to get better, but it takes time, see God don't give you stuff all at once, He kinda brings it down a little at a time, a little at a time. And if you just notice, you notice back then things were different, but everyday it gets better, it gets better everyday. But God ain't going to open your eyes up all at once, because we can't handle it. He has to enlighten us a little at a time, and that's what going on now…He's opening our eyes, not only our eyes, but the White man's eye too, and they White man *so* good at still segregating against us, until I bet you in the next 10 to 15 years they going to have to give that up to, they have to open up everything to us. But you know they got that White bash about them, "We are the White race, we, we are the best!" But they ain't no more then me or you.

The respondent mentions that things have changed, yet we still have a long way to go to be viewed as equal. The respondent is not alone in her assessment of the changes that have occurred since the dismantling of the total institution of Jim Crow. Indeed, technically the total institution has been dismantled. However, the long-term consequences of the experiences of the total institution of Jim Crow still permeate in the lives of African Americans. More importantly, as a society there is things that need to be address in an attempt to heal the wounds of the past.

Summary

In the dissertation I argued that slavery is recognized as a total institution. However, slavery was replicated in the total institution of Jim Crow. I examined the narratives of utilizing Feagin's White racial framing of racial matters and Goffman's dramaturgy—frontstage and backstage. I focused on the social psychology literature including social

learning and how Whites and Blacks were taught the 'racial etiquette' of interactions. I described the interview process and the methodology.

I examined trauma as an individual and collective experience. I introduced and developed the concept segregation stress syndrome, which I described as the consequences of racial traumatic events in the everyday lives of African Americans during Jim Crow. The chapter includes the cumulative loss of psychological well-being for African Americans and their mechanisms of coping. I explored the intergenerational transmission of trauma. I examined the lack of professional assistance that African Americans had after the racial violence and trauma. I provided the necessary background of racial violence, which included lynching, rapes, and other collective experiences. I incorporated the literature on stress as a backdrop for understanding the stress process, identity and stress, and social stressors. I included the framework of racism, stress, and mental health and focused on the collective experiences of African Americans including collective memory, stress, and collective trauma.

In the dissertation, I analyzed how the respondents' everyday accounts of traumatic racial events during Jim Crow. I included narratives that provided traumatic events that they witnessed, experienced, and/or heard about in the total institution of Jim Crow. Some of the racial traumatic events included; rape, lynchings, house burnings, torture, and murder.

In the dissertation, I examined the slippage of the frontstage and the backstage. I examined how African Americans found protection and guidance there. I engaged the work of Feagin and others to emphasize the importance of resistance and coping. I

included the narratives of respondents' who resisted and taught their children and grandchildren how to resist. I included how African Americans resisted as a collective. I analyzed how African Americans responded when Whites invaded the backstage.

The dissertation explores the collective psychological consequences for African American survivors and their descendents. The history of mental health care in the African American community set the backdrop for the discussion. I included the implications for mental health counselors, and the possible physical consequences for African Americans which include strokes, heart disease, high blood pressure, long-term psychological problems, and segregation stress syndrome. I make the connections between their mental well-being and the physical consequences. I explore future research and my hope for the future. I analyzed and provided how African Americans are dealing with the long-term consequences of the total institution of Jim Crow. In the narratives they exhibited psychological and physical symptoms. They provided an inside look at how growing up in the total institution and how much they think things haven't changed.

Directions for Further Research

The older African Americans that participated in the research project exhibited symptoms that they are suffering from segregation stress syndrome. Social science research needs to focus on the long term consequences of growing up in a total institution. The research on the consequences of sexual and racial violence is clear in the psychology literature; however sociology needs to incorporate the psychology literature into looking at the collective experiences of oppressed groups.

In addition, an investigation of how is the experience of racial traumatic event affected by the context in which it occurs? When racism and oppression of a group is legitimized, is the effect of the event different from the effect in a context where racism and oppression is not legitimized? In other words, if two individuals experience exactly the same trauma, can the societal context affect the individuals' perceptions and health outcomes? The rationale for the question and why I think the question and idea of racial violence [which leads to a traumatic racial event], in an environment where it's deemed "normative," being a predictor of heightened stress are important in the field of sociology for several reasons. First, the research and literature on the issue of how racism, discrimination, and racial violence negatively influence the physical and mental well-being of African Americans and other diverse populations is compelling. However, much of the literature, in this area, is dominated by the field of psychology.

In addition, the social sciences—specifically psychology and sociology—would benefit from the development of a scale that can accurately measure the issue of trauma and the collective experiences in this country. The Native Americans have developed a scale that measures some aspects of historical collective trauma. That scale could be utilized as a starting point to examine the long term impact of racial and ethnic conflicts around the world. One aspect of the total institution of Jim Crow was the use of rape as a weapon of terror. The research on the collective consequences of rape in the field of sociology is limited and warrants further examination.

There is a need for more research into the discrimination and racism that exists in the field of psychology in terms of mental health counselors and physicians. The dissertation

provided evidence that African Americans who seek out mental health counseling often don't return because they reported feelings of discrimination and racism. The literature is clear that there are negative psychological consequences to racism and discrimination. However, the research on how mental health counselors and physicians can address those issues in their efforts to assist African Americans who are suffering is lacking.

Researchers in the fields of medical and social science need to do more research focusing on the issues of collective racial and historical trauma and the consequences "segregation stress syndrome." This syndrome may offer some explanations as to why elderly African Americans are twice as likely to die from strokes, heart attacks, and other serious illnesses. The syndrome may offer some explanations as to why elderly African Americans have high blood pressure, diabetes, and sickle cell disease. These are all areas that need further research in a time where historically African Americans are not making the progress that they envisioned after the total institution of Jim Crow ended over 50 years ago.

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APPENDIX A

SAMPLING PLAN

1. Where did you grow up?
2. Do/Did you live close to your family? [i.e. grandparents, aunts, uncles]
3. Do you remember what type of work your mother/father did?
4. Do you remember what type of work your grandmother/grandfather did?
5. What type of work have you done? [Occupation]
6. Do you remember your first encounter with a White person?
7. Was it a good experience? If so why, if not why not?
8. Can you recall any experience your mother, father, or grandparents shared with you that they had with a White person?
9. Can you recall a memorable story that you had or heard about living under segregation, possibly a story about someone in the community?
10. Do you remember hearing any stories about unpleasant things happening to young women or young men in your family or community?
11. Did your parents or any family member warn you about anything in reference to being safe in dealing with Whites?
12. What did they warn you about in reference to Whites?
13. Do you recall any experiences that you had when you were young where you thought you or your family were being treated differently because you are Black?
14. Can you recall at what age you were when you began to notice as a Black person that you were treated differently than White people?
15. Did you share any experiences with discrimination/racism that you may have had with any family members?

16. How often during the course of the day, did you interact with Whites growing up?

17. Where was the interaction? Street, store, at work, school etc.

18. Do you remember any advice given to you by your parents or anyone else about handling racism or White people?

19. Did you pass the advice on to your children?

20. How did you and your family cope and survive during legal segregation?

21. Which coping strategies do you find most effective / least effective

22. Where did you learn the coping strategies that you use to confront racism/discrimination?

23. Were the coping strategies that you use taught to you by someone? If so, Who?

24. Thinking back to when you were a young person and the things that you experienced would you say that you were a victim? If so, why? If not, why not?

25. Do you or any of your family members experience anything today that is similar to what you experienced when you were young?

26. Do you or any of your family members experience any type of unfair treatment and discrimination that some Blacks report today in housing?

27. Do you or any of your family members experience any type of unfair treatment and discrimination that some Blacks report today in restaurants?

28. Do you or any of your family members experience any type of unfair treatment and discrimination that some Blacks report today in stores?

29. Do you or any of your family members experience any type of unfair treatment and discrimination that some Blacks report today by the police?

30. Do you or any of your family members experience any type of unfair treatment and discrimination that some Blacks report today by employers or at work?

31. Do you know of any other way that you or your family members have felt they were treated unfairly because they are Black?

32. How do you respond to racism or discrimination from Whites today?

33. What coping strategies do you use to handle discrimination from Whites today?

34. Do you think things are better for Black people now than they were 30 years ago?
    If so, How? If not, Why?

VITA

Ruth K. Thompson-Miller received her Bachelor of Arts degree in anthropology from the University of Florida at Gainesville in 2004. She entered the sociology program at Texas A&M University in September 2004, and she received her Master of Science degree in May 2006. Her research interests include race and ethnic relations during Jim Crow, and she plans to publish a book on these specific topics, focusing on the Southeast, Southwest, and South Africa.

Mrs. Thompson-Miller may be reached at the Department of Sociology, 4351 Academic Building, Texas A&M University, College Station, TX 77843-4351. Her email address is rkthompson@tamu.edu